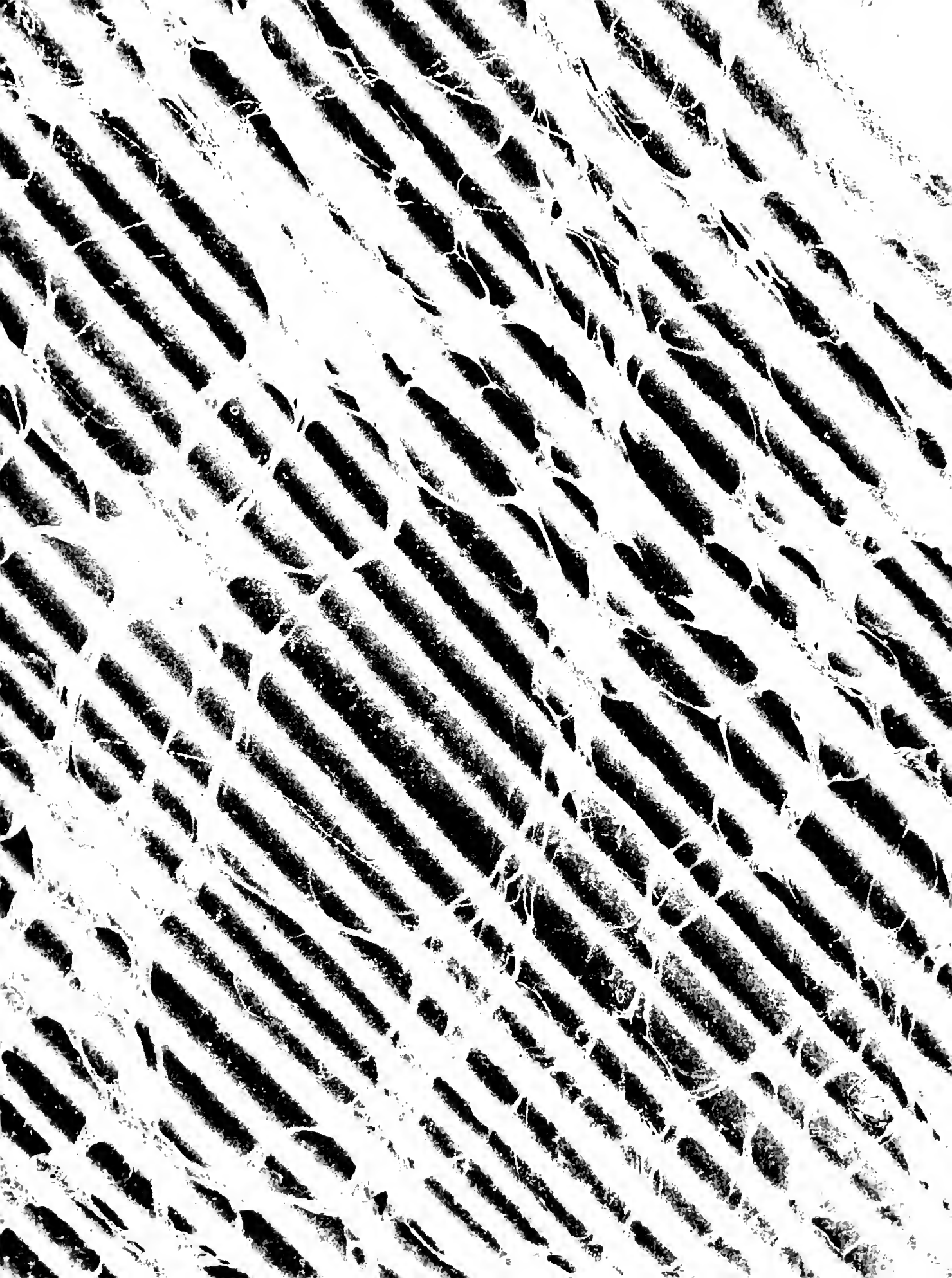

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[illegible]

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PREFACE

This monograph forms part of a series of investigations into various phases of American trade unionism that, for some years, have been undertaken by members of the Economic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University. In gathering material, the author has had access to the trade union publications at the Johns Hopkins University, and at the headquarters of various unions. The file of the National Labor Tribune at Pittsburg has been used for early conditions among the coal miners, iron and steel workers, and glass workers. A few pamphlets, files of contemporary newspapers, and other documents relating to the history of local trade unionism in America have also been examined. This study of documentary sources has been supplemented by personal observation and by interviews with some of the American labor leaders.

At every stage of the work, the author has received valuable advice and assistance from Professor Jacob H. Hollander and Dr. George E. Barnett, of the Johns Hopkins University.

The basic unit of government in the American trade union is the mass meeting of members. Such meetings are sometimes held by the journeymen employed in each shop, mine, factory, or other form of commercial or manufacturing establishment. But more frequently and more periodically, they are convoked by the members of a trade, or by a certain class of workers of a trade in the several "shops" of a particular locality. The first of these popular assemblies is termed the "shop meeting"; the second is commonly known as the "local". All other units of government are delegate councils, created by the federation of shop meetings or locals in a district, state, and national and international unions.

The formation of permanently organized unions is, however, usually preceded by a period of unorganized resistance, during which the journeymen of a craft, when aroused suddenly by the threat of a reduction of wages or some other specific grievance, frequently decide without forethought or preparation to walk out on strike. Sometimes, such unorganized movements are limited to the members of a single shop or factory. Some times, they involve all the journeymen of a trade in a locality.

As a rule, however, these unorganized strikes are confined to the employees of a single industrial establishment. After the destruction of the short-lived Bates Union of 1849, no attempt was made to organize

the anthracite miners of Pennsylvania until 1868, when in June of that year the "Workman's Benevolent Association of Schuylkill County was formed. Yet, during the interval of disorganization, the miners did not passively endure their low wages, and dilapidated houses, or the mulcting of the miners by the [illegible]-priced company stores. On the contrary, isolated outbursts of [illegible] a single colliery, incited by the bolder and more turbulent spirits, broke out now at one mine, and now at another. But, as these movements were spontaneous and disorganized, the employers always succeeded in quickly crushing them.[1]

As late as 1855, there existed among the hatters of Danbury, Conn., an unique institution known as the "shop call", whose origin, antedating the organization of a permanent union among the craft, can be traced, it is said, far back into colonial times. For many years, any man, woman, or child, working in a hat factory, who felt that he or she had a grievance, yelled "shop called". Immediately, a meeting of all the employees of the shop was held, and the complaint was laid before them. If the grievance was considered just, a committee was appointed to wait upon the employer; and, if this committee reported

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1 First Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Agriculture of Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, p. 328. Harrisburg, 1874.

a rejection of its demands, then the members of the shop in meeting assembled, would decide to walk out on strike.[1] Shop strikes frequently occur at the present day in non-unionized trades, and are quoted by labor leaders to illustrate their statement that the strike preceded, and was not created by the trade union.

The "shop" unconsciously developed at an early date some simple, informal machinery of government. It elected someone to preside at the meetings, and committees to lay the demands of the journeymen before the employer. The New York Typographical Society, organized in 1831, formed the journeymen of each printing office into a "chapel". The chapel held meetings whenever a disagreement arose with the employer or between the journeymen themselves, and was presided over by the so-called "father of the chapel". This very simple form of government had existed, for many years, in the printing shops both of England and America.

So long, however, as meetings of journeymen were held within the confines of an industrial establishment, they continued to be of this informal character, and were so inconvenient that they could only be convoked at long intervals as some difficulty arose with employers. The employees in such industrial establishment might, indeed,

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1 New Haven Register, December 1893.

2 Constitution of the New York Typographical Association of June 1831, as amended in 1833.

have formed themselves into a constitutionally organized body with meeting quarters outside of the shop or factory. In this way, the members of a trade in such place would have been divided into as many unions as there were shops in such locality.

Certain conditions demanded, however, close co-operation between the journeymen of a trade in all shops of a given locality, and made necessary the immediate rise of the so-called local union with jurisdiction over all members of a craft in a single town or city. In the first place, if the men in one shop succeeded in raising wages, their fellow-craftsmen in rival working establishments would compete for such choice employment, and, by underbidding, force wages down to the original level. In the second place, an employer resisted most stubbornly attempts to make him pay more wages than his competitors. The number of journeymen in such a co-war, moreover, certainly during the infancy of American trade unionism, usually too small to enable them without considerable financial strain to run a hall, pay officers salaries, and meet all expenses, incident to the maintenance of a well-organized society. In other words, the government of one large mass meeting was far economical than the government of many small ones. Finally, the beneficiary aims of early trade societies also rendered advantageous, from a financial standpoint, as large a membership as possible. In early

all trades, therefore, the first governmental trade body, possessing a constitution, meeting at regular intervals, and bargaining with employers according to certain definite policies, is not the "sliding scale" but the local trade union.

In certain districts, however, where the industrial establishments are very large and widely scattered, [illegible] working force of an employer constitute a separate basic unit of union; [illegible] all other units of government are only the councils. [illegible] miners at each colliery form a miners union or less federated body. As a rule, therefore, they meet separately, and come into what corresponds to a local union in other trades. At first, informal meetings are held, but when an emergency required, either in the pit, or at the pit mouth, or near the shaft of the mine. Later, after some difficulty, the miners were slowly persuaded to meet regularly, at fixed regular intervals, and adopt a constitution. Great masses of times of the miners at all pits in a district, of a certain form have, indeed, been convened, but only very occasionally, and for a specific purpose. In the bituminous coal fields of Western Pennsylvania, the miners at one colliery often filled the coffers of a different pit, where the men were on strike. The miners who consented to do this,

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1 National Labor Tribune, 11th year, No. 24, p. 5, July 23, 1883.

were said to "blackleg"; and, when it occurred, the [illegible] of all other colliers in that vicinity would occasionally hold a great mass meeting, pass resolutions of remonstrance, and sometimes [illegible] in a procession to the blackleg's pit, [illegible] pick.[1]

In [illegible] window-glass industry, the factories are all large; and, usually, there is only one plant in each town. To [illegible] national [illegible] of window-glass workers [illegible] in [illegible] local union to form a governmental body, [illegible] "precepory". When there are two or more window-glass factories in the same place, a joint precepory is created, that is, one joint precepor, [illegible] assistant precepor for each last or [illegible] other. Sometimes, [illegible] several glass plants of a locality combine [illegible] one large mass meeting. There has, however, been considerable opposition to these joint sessions. [illegible] national convention of the recently formed [illegible] Window Glass Workers of America, a resolution [illegible] of that such glass fac-

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1 National Tribune, [illegible], [illegible], 1880.

2 There are several national or local unions of window glass workers. The Window Glass Workers' Association of America and the United Window Glass Workers' Association of America merged in 1904 to form the National Window Glass Workers of America. An assembly of the Knights of Labor, known as Local Assembly 300, K. of L. has existed since 1880. A portion of the branches of the craft have also organized themselves separately under the title, the Window Glass Cutters' and Flatteners' Association of America.

tory meet separately as an individual preceptory.[1]

Among the shirt, waist, and laundry workers of Troy, the employees in each factory at first constituted a separate union. The United Laundry Workers, chartered by the American Federation of Labor in 1899, permitted the workers of the "Shirt Waist" or small laundry order employed in factories or shops, to join the union. When laundry workers first [illegible] the United, they met by order in a separate union. In case of a strike of small laundries, an entire local trade union of workers could be formed.[2] Then, in 1900, the laundry workers were merged in the Shirt, Waist, and Laundry Workers International Union, no such rules were adopted; and it seems to be the general policy of the present [illegible] to organize in each city, either a single local, or several locals, for each branch of the trade.

[illegible] workers of a trade in each city, [illegible], in some lines, not [illegible] local [illegible] in [illegible]

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1 Proceedings of the First Annual Convention, A[illegible] of Window Glass Workers of America, Cleveland, Ohio, July 11-13, 1905, p. 111. (Cleveland, [illegible]).

2 Constitution and By-Laws of the United Laundry Workers, Article III. Troy, 1899.

local; and overnment by an informal shop meeting, convoked within the walls of the fac ory, is often more desirable. Th print cutters make the wooden rollers used in prin in wall-paper. A manufacturer of wall-paper sometimes prepares his own rollers. Sometimes, they are made by small job rs. In itter case, since the demand for rollers is so li ited, only are handful of print cutters are found in ach shop or fa ory. As a consequence, even in pl ces where several shops are located, the total number of print cutters is so small that the formation of a local union is often not ad advisable. In fact, only four locals have been chartered by the National Print Cutters' Association in New York, Phil delphia, Buffalo, and New Brunswick, N. J., respectively. In other cities, the men employed in the shops usually elect a clerk who collects dues, and enforces the observance of union rules, and also a committee which has charge of the label, and lays the grievances of the men before the employer. The members of a shop cannot, however, strike, or take any decisive step without consulting the parent local, because, it is true, if possible in every case in such a small body, the several shops, or the most one in a union, can be so readily reached and injured by their employers.

The Machine Textile Printers of America, who print cotton and woolen goods, compose a trade organized

under similar conditions. Whether textiles are printed by the manufacturer or the small jobber, the number of machine printers to each shop or mill is small. The machine textile printers have no local unions, but maintain in each textile [illegible] district a local shop organization. The [illegible] from textile [illegible] three distinct unions, known respectively [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible]. Strictly speaking, the [illegible] of each district is the "[illegible]" [illegible] of dimmers, and conversations [illegible] in the district are [illegible].

[illegible] are organized, whenever possible, [illegible] upon which they are employed. The [illegible] International Brotherhood of Textile [illegible] in fifty or more [illegible] lines, certain [illegible] have a local or local self-[illegible] [illegible], to maintain [illegible] with a central [illegible], [illegible] entire railroad system, [illegible] vote on questions [illegible]. [illegible], however, [illegible] organization [illegible] on

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1 Rules, Regulations, and By-Laws of the Machine Printers Beneficial Association of the United States. (Paulucket, R. I., 1886). The constitution of 1886 is still enforced to-day.

different roads. [illegible] a sub-division is [illegible], a "local committee of adjustment" must be selected for each railroad represented in the lodge. Moreover, the mixed local must [illegible] a delegate upon the general committee of adjustment of the system upon which the [illegible] of the [illegible][1] [illegible] conductor of the train crew, [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible] trainmen, co[illegible] [illegible] consideration of their material [illegible], [illegible] possible, the members [illegible] [illegible] decisions concerning the system [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], indeed, their general policy.

[illegible], [illegible] stationary in character, [illegible] different points on the railroad, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], perhaps, some [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] railroad employees, [illegible] according to railway [illegible] [illegible] cases. Thus, the Brotherhood's Union of [illegible] Circuit, at first, all [illegible] [illegible] Central, Michigan Central, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] other lines [illegible] [illegible] Inconvenience of an overgrown central body [illegible] [illegible] a division all [illegible] [illegible] local and [illegible] committees of [illegible] [illegible] seem [illegible] first.

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1 Constitution and Statutes of the Grand International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Revised 1904. Constitution, Section 30. Standing Rules, Sections 1-2. Cleveland, 1904.

Moreover, in this particular case, the men employed by New York Central formed a majority of the union, and, at the same time, would cause all questions relating to their own system, questions upon which, in all probability, only [illegible] would vote, [illegible] early in the evening, [illegible] other roads employed [illegible] considered at all. [illegible] to-day [illegible] Buffalo, one for each line having [illegible] city. But, in many places, [illegible] are organized into one local.

[illegible] Brotherhood of Machinists includes [illegible] in many shops, [illegible] shops, [illegible] theories. It is [illegible] according to the [illegible] employed. But, [illegible] in [illegible] localities are [illegible].

[illegible] necessary to organize [illegible] railroad [illegible] is [illegible] all lodges [illegible] in a territorial area. [illegible] lodge may belong to several districts; [illegible] confusion [illegible] over the exact relation of members of these various dis-

[illegible]ricts, as, for example, in the matter of dues.[1] It has, also, been found difficult to secure co-operation between all machinists upon the [illegible] railroad system, [illegible] are divided upon [illegible] of [illegible]ness composite unions.[2]

In New York City, [illegible] association of printers, known as the New York Typographical Union, No. 6, embraces several [illegible], [illegible] membership meetings of the unions have become too large for governmental efficiency. [illegible] Typographical Union [illegible] "only one [illegible] shall be organized in any distinctive craft shall be organized in [illegible] place", prevents the sub-division of the [illegible] into smaller and more manageable governmental units, [illegible] New York Typographical Union, [illegible] solve the difficulty by using the meetings of printers in [illegible] shop or chapel as the basic mass meeting, and, by [illegible] the local union into a representative council [illegible] delegates elected from [illegible] chapels. [illegible] plan [illegible] work well however and has [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible] majority of trades, [illegible] governmental

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[1] Proceedings of [illegible] Convention of the International Association of Machinists, Toronto, Can., June 3-11, 1901. (In Machinists' Monthly Journal, Vol. XIII, No. 8 (Supplement). Washington, August, 1901.

[2] Machinists' Journal, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 105, Richmond, Va., April, 1893.

units accordin to the locality in which they work. The members of a trade in any place are, indeed, often subdivided into two or more local unions according to branch of the trade, nationality, sex, color, or sometimes merely for social or fraternal purposes. Only in the few exceptional instances where, as, in those cases there may be a large factory or industry in a locality, or a single trade is wholly commercial or [illegible] permanent, constitutionally organized.

The local trade union has, indeed, been reduced to a mere shell in character, and is convoked only on rare occasions. The shop committee in the factory itself, however, [illegible], that all power is often practically [illegible] shop committee. The constitution of the [illegible] Society for 1833, provided that "it shall be [illegible] in large offices, decide to delegate [illegible] committee, consisting of five, seven, or nine members, [illegible] to be always one, it shall be [illegible] so". As long as the miners [illegible], all real power was often vested in the committee of three or five members. In other cases, shop committees have, on account of objections from employers, been absolutely forbidden. The hat manufacturers of Danbury, Conn. long

opposed the interruptions to work caused by the frequent "shop calls" of their employees. While such conditions were being held, the firm, by collusion, [illegible] the field in the process of reparation [illegible].

So in 1965, [illegible] factors contained from a local [illegible] in which "shop calls" are prohibited. The [illegible], in fact, to be submitted to [illegible] of [illegible]; [illegible] remain at work [illegible] its [illegible].

[illegible], however, been placed on its most important points. [illegible], the number of hours in [illegible], [illegible] membership, and all internal regulations [illegible] are usually fixed by the local for all [illegible] within its jurisdiction. Since each [illegible] of the [illegible] garments has certain styles of [illegible]; [illegible], since these styles may be changed daily, the [illegible] per piece [illegible], fixed by the shop committee [illegible] hours by [illegible] a new style [illegible], [illegible] different [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible] production [illegible] to vary widely; [illegible], [illegible] of the manufacturers, [illegible] are [illegible] between the employers [illegible] employees [illegible]. Such cases are, however, exceptions [illegible] rule. Frequently, [illegible] employees in an individual shop [illegible] are permitted by the local union to bring to the attention of their employer, through their shop committee or chief shop official, alleged violations of the local agreement, or other [illegible],

enforced by the power of the union. But, in the building trades, where the work is of a shifting character, it has been difficult by means of a shop steward, elected only for the job, to compel contractors to abide faithfully by the agreements. In factory industries, shop officials or, indeed, [illegible] for long terms, by co-workers, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] qualified to [illegible]. Nevertheless, it has been found [illegible] of [illegible] employees selected [illegible] their action, as agitators, or [illegible], [illegible] they to single them out for [illegible] [illegible] opportunity. Therefore, in [illegible] industries, [illegible] factory industries as well, even the [illegible] union over the alleged violation of [illegible] is conducted by a paid official of the local union, sometimes known as the business representative, or union delegate. The shop is, in fact, now used principally as an active unit in the administration of the local union. An officer variously known as [illegible], [illegible], or clerk, is, for example, usually [illegible] to report all matters of importance [illegible] local, call out [illegible], supervise [illegible] local, and perform other executive duties.

Fro[illegible] the close [illegible] formation of [illegible] National Typographical Union in [illegible], [illegible] local and [illegible] form of gov[illegible] [illegible] in [illegible] United States. [illegible], [illegible] establishment. [illegible] spe[illegible] [illegible] Atlantic coast.

[illegible] in [illegible], [illegible]-strike, [illegible] strike of [illegible] pro[illegible] [illegible] in 17[illegible]; [illegible] occurre[illegible] i[illegible],

I[illegible] New York har[illegible]bor, [illegible] struck for [illegible]teen dollars," [illegible] compelled sa[illegible] old [illegible]

ships to join them.[1]

A more developed stage in [illegible] of [illegible] lo-cal trade union was [illegible] "[illegible]" [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] so[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. If [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]; [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] printers [illegible] [illegible] and from their [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] called [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], however, [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible] printers of Phil-adelphia [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] fellow craftsman to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible]. They [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] scale, and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] policy. A [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] signed by [illegible]-six [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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[1] J. B. McMaster: "A History of the People of the United States," Vol. II, p. 51[illegible].

accomplishment of the purpose for which it was created.[1]

The rise of permanently organized local trade societies in the United States dates from about the beginning of the nineteenth century. Prior to [illegible], conditions [illegible]. [illegible]; [illegible] articles produced in [illegible] plantation or in [illegible], [illegible], all [illegible] in [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] up into [illegible]. A Baltimore [illegible] years of the [illegible]-teenth century declares: "[illegible] elegant belles that bright [illegible] shawls, and other [illegible] of their own hands,- [illegible] ance or [illegible]. [illegible] of [illegible] progress [illegible]",

The [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] as well as [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] blacksmith; [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] cobbler, [illegible] other [illegible]lling [illegible] from plantation [illegible], [illegible]

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[1] Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. [illegible]1 - November 1905, p. 8[illegible]0.

century, there was, moreover, a spirited effort to make [illegible]ly created American nation economically as well as politically independent of the mother country. Societies [illegible] the encouragement of domestic manufactures were formed in all parts of the country. The inclination to foster American in[illegible] [illegible] pledged themselves only [illegible] American [illegible]ture. The Virginia [illegible] [illegible]'s [illegible] stock, after the first [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] -of-July celebration of 1808, [illegible] merchants [illegible] their [illegible] columns of [illegible] daily newspapers [illegible] American manufactures [illegible]; [illegible] citizens who wished [illegible] birthday of [illegible].[1]

[illegible] American industries, it was [illegible] which prevail-ed. About 1800, [illegible] the [illegible] of modern [illegible] so-called "tobacconist", who [illegible] the journeyman, the master, [illegible]. [illegible] tobacconist, moreover, [illegible] cigars [illegible] also such pro-

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[1] Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XIX, Nos. 31[illegible]-31[illegible]2, June [illegible]-30, 1809.

ucts as snuff and smoking tobacco. Even in these there a class of wage earners distinct from the master's handicrafts, it frequently required little capital to set up in business for himself. [illegible] ies of India, therefore, relatively [illegible], [illegible] of [illegible] labor supply. [illegible] was unnecessary. [illegible] I [illegible], as early as 1842, [illegible] shoe makers was i[illegible] of Massachusetts.[1] L[illegible], [illegible] in Philadelphia, [illegible] and [illegible] evolution of association [illegible].

[illegible], however, [illegible] close of the [illegible] of life, many associations [illegible] all [illegible]. [illegible] were [illegible] poses. [illegible] in's [illegible] fi-nancial [illegible], [illegible] in that [illegible] the [illegible] 1810, [illegible] of their [illegible] labor [illegible]. [illegible] primarily [illegible] designed to [illegible] relief [illegible] makers, and [illegible] of [illegible] to [illegible] survivi[illegible] relative. [illegible] were [illegible] ip,

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1 Industrial History of the United States, [illegible] Albert S. Bolles, p. 447.

of two kinds. The first class was composed of artisans following all sorts of trades, such as the Albany Mechanical Society, the Catskill Mechanical Society, the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the County of Kings, all incorporated during this early period. In the larger cities, the associations established a partnership to the journeymen of a trade or craft, as, for example, the New York Masons' Society, the [illegible] and plasterers, and the [illegible] Society of the Journeymen Shipwrights, [illegible] in the year of 1807.[1]

[illegible] in this [illegible] of the People of the United States is [illegible] early societies, comprising [illegible] of the trade "are almost invariably [illegible]".[2] Our information concerning [illegible], however, [illegible] that it is difficult [illegible] first to refute such a statement. Perhaps, [illegible], our only source of information is a vague and [illegible] reference in the contemporary newspaper. In [illegible], therefore, it is impossible to determine [illegible] activities.

The [illegible] associations formed during this period, also, in fact, a rifle variation of function. Thus, the rules of association [illegible] lists of merit

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1 McMaster: A History of the People of the United States, Vol. III, p. 511. New York, 1892.

2 Ibid.

[illegible] in a period of nearly thirty years reveal [illegible] the Society of Brotherhood Carpenters, founded at Halifax, Nova Scotia in 1798, was designed solely to give aid to the sick and to relieve from [illegible] of distress [illegible] of deceased members.[1]

[illegible] Society of Journeymen Cordwainers [illegible] 1800, [illegible] devoted its energies [illegible] trial [illegible] ion of the craft. [illegible] ion, the cordwainers declare [illegible] "to guard against the [illegible] by our employers [illegible] that we deem an adequate [illegible]". The association maintained a scale of wages [illegible] fines, [illegible] in several "shops" [illegible] employers to pay it. Members were [illegible] fine to work "on the same [illegible] shops" who did not belong to the society. [illegible] ion of the organization [illegible] of sick or death benefit.[2]

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1 Rules and Regulations and Minutes of Meetings for the Society of Brotherhood Carpenters begun at Halifax, Nova Scotia, the 1 of February, 1801. (MS).

2 Constitution, contained in the account of the "Trial of the Journeymen Cordwainers of the City of New York, for a Conspiracy to Raise their Wages". Reported by William Sampson, Esq. New York, 1810.

A third class of early trade associations had [illegible] industrial and benevolent aims. In the first constitution of the Philadelphia Typographical Society, established in 1802, provision is [illegible] for sick and funeral benefits [illegible] [illegible] employment [illegible] lished rate [illegible] weekly, [illegible] sufficient [illegible] In such [illegible] by [illegible] able to r- [illegible] levy on [illegible] printers also [illegible] from employers; and [illegible] pulsion to work below [illegible] industrially [illegible] pub- lic, [illegible] features. The [illegible] discussed and formulated [illegible] printers joined the society [illegible] benevolent. In consequence, [illegible] [illegible] ficial [illegible] faction, [illegible] two factions in the society, [illegible] that its trade policies be made [illegible] more aggressive, [illegible] insisting [illegible] such industrial aims [illegible]

[illegible] more widely extended.[1]

As has been said, trade societies, designed for collective bargaining, [illegible] towards the close of the [illegible] of the first [illegible] centuries; [illegible] general [illegible] of American trade [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible] of settlers to the [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] -rica [illegible] of skilled laborers, [illegible]. [illegible] filled [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] nations [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] generally [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] is true, began to [illegible] [illegible] trade societies in [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] confined chiefly to [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] -ploying [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible] -tries. [illegible], Independence Day of 1801 was celebrated [illegible]. The [illegible] marched [illegible], [illegible]; in the contemporary [illegible] [illegible] as a [illegible] of [illegible] class of journeymen [illegible] [illegible] sters had arisen.

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1 Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. [illegible] [illegible] 1901., pp. 864-869. Also Appendix A, No. 1.

I[illegible] list [illegible] ose i[illegible] line of [illegible] are [illegible] boot and shoe [illegible]kers, [illegible] rs, [illegible] lp- [illegible] [illegible]-[illegible]ilding trades, [illegible] ilors, [illegible] ers, [illegible]rs, [illegible] rs, [illegible] lo[illegible]-[1] [illegible] ers. Si[illegible] ies [illegible] other [illegible] hos[illegible]n. I[illegible] from 1[illegible]00 [illegible], [illegible] tions, or- [illegible] l- [illegible].

[illegible] encouraged by [illegible] ess, [illegible] some consid- [illegible] industries, [illegible] ployee was [illegible] industrial cent[illegible], [illegible] formed for [illegible] purpose [illegible], [illegible] uniform [illegible] [illegible].

C[illegible] l[illegible], [illegible] revolu- tio[illegible] larly

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[1] T[illegible] Baltimore A[illegible] ric[illegible] C[illegible] l [illegible] ly A[illegible]r, Vol. XIX, No. 31[illegible]9. July 1, 190[illegible].

in New England. The possibility of utilizing [illegible] the manufacture of shoes induced [illegible] the colonies to prohibit the export of raw hides; [illegible] legislation, [illegible] successful in New England. [illegible] 1 [illegible]. By [illegible] also [illegible] New York, Philadelphia, and [illegible] cities to Charleston, [illegible], Petersburg, Alexandria, [illegible] in [illegible] of shoes [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] in the Western Country.

[illegible] shoe [illegible] Cordwainers, as [illegible] [illegible]

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[1] See [illegible]

[2] Trial of [illegible] Philadelphia on an Indictment for [illegible] Combination [illegible] Philadelphia, [illegible].

[3] For example, see advertisements in [illegible] or American Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. [illegible], No. [illegible], April 1, 1809.

e them or to accept work at less than the rate of wages fixed upon by the society. In 1794, the association was reorganized, and, at once adopted a vigorous [illegible] policy in its relations with the employers. [illegible] "turnouts" or strikes followed [illegible] occasion; and each [illegible] occasion, [illegible]; [illegible] resulted. After a [illegible], [illegible] effort, as a compromise, [illegible] employers. [illegible], [illegible] master cordwainers [illegible] met to [illegible] before the court.

[illegible] ers [illegible] e [illegible]; [illegible] policies, [illegible] ism. In the first place, [illegible] force [illegible] policy of [illegible] [illegible] "scab", [illegible] violation of [illegible] rules. I[illegible] employed in such non-society [illegible] "scab", [illegible] call a even a[illegible] what [illegible] te, [illegible] to the "scab". This coercive [illegible] seldom failed. For the society embraced the larger part of the [illegible] in [illegible] town. Should the non-conformist, [illegible]

shop, [illegible] employment elsewhere, [illegible] "[illegible]" still pursued [illegible]. Pressure to secure his dismissal was, [illegible], [illegible] master, until, at last, [illegible] join the "[illegible]", [illegible].

[illegible] times to the [illegible] modern [illegible] early days. [illegible] 1806, [illegible] trial [illegible] testified: "The [illegible] description [illegible], I [illegible] have been [illegible], [illegible] I [illegible] satisfied. I was [illegible]. I have [illegible], and [illegible] to [illegible], I [illegible], I [illegible] obliged to join [illegible]", [illegible] the masters also [illegible]: "[illegible] 1799, I [illegible] sixteen [illegible]; [illegible], afterward, [illegible], I [illegible] to [illegible], [illegible] in. [illegible] I returned, I [illegible] r. [illegible] beaten."[1]

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[1] The Trial of [illegible] and Shoemakers of Philadelphia [illegible]

Reference [illegible] already been made [illegible] trade association of journeymen cordwainers, [illegible] in New York City, [illegible] to 1804, [illegible] possibly so [illegible] earlier.

In Baltimore, [illegible] were or[illegible] [illegible] Society [illegible] [illegible] than two [illegible] [illegible] aggressive [illegible] [illegible] sister [illegible] Philadelphia. In 1809, [illegible] "[illegible]" party, which, in Baltimore [illegible] classes, decided to [illegible] industrial parade. In [illegible], white [illegible] women, - three [illegible] - [illegible] represented [illegible] Crispin[1], the first holiday [illegible].

[illegible] industry. In 1831, [illegible] Parliament [illegible]

[illegible] Raise [illegible] Wages. [illegible] Philadelphia, 1806.

[1] It is interesting [illegible] St. Crispin figures in [illegible] first [illegible] tion of boot and shoe workers, [illegible] in this country in [illegible]. It was known as the Grand Lodge of [illegible] of St. Crispin.

[2] The Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XIX, No. 3163. July 8, 1809.

[illegible] ts [illegible] in [illegible] A[illegible] s [illegible]ly; [illegible] exported [illegible] E[illegible] [illegible] Indies.[1] The [illegible] of D[illegible], Conn., is [illegible] [illegible]ly [illegible]; [illegible] in the earl[illegible] [illegible], perhaps as [illegible]. A [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] York [illegible].

The [illegible] Hatters' Beneficial Society [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible]s, [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible]. The association, [illegible] in [illegible] provisions [illegible] [illegible] sick and in[illegible]s; [illegible] were [illegible]' Society of New York in [illegible], [illegible] in [illegible]

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[1] In[illegible] History [illegible], [illegible] Al[illegible] S. [illegible], p. 392.

[2] Constitution of the [illegible]ers' Beneficial Society of D[illegible]. Reprinted in D[illegible] Ev[illegible], O[illegible]r [illegible], 1[illegible].

[3] [illegible], Vol. 111. [illegible], 1[illegible].

[illegible] in Philadelphia [illegible]. In Baltimore, [illegible] [illegible]rs of his craft [illegible] [illegible] tools [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]: "[illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible]: "[illegible] [illegible]"

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] building. As [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] club were, however, [illegible] "[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible]."[3] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] ship [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] building [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible],

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[1] The Baltimore American [illegible] Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XIX, No. 31[illegible]3. [illegible], 18[illegible].

[2] See McMasters' "[illegible] [illegible]", in [illegible] American [illegible] Series.

[3] For [illegible], see Richard T. Ely's "The Labor Movement in America", p. 3[illegible].

[illegible] ner. The [illegible], however, [illegible] [illegible]. There was [illegible] union of [illegible] carpenters of [illegible] [illegible] are [illegible] of Baltimore [illegible] 1809.[2] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]ted, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] in [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] effi- cial [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Baltimore, [illegible], as [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] There is [illegible] [illegible] 1809, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] signed by the

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[1] McMaster: [illegible] United States, Vol. V, [illegible]

[2] The Federal Gazette [illegible] Advertiser, Vol. 21, No. [illegible]

[3] S[illegible]

[4] The Baltimore [illegible] Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XIX, No. 3159. [illegible] 1, 1809.

[5] The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, Vol. XXX, No. 4598. June 21, 1809.

[illegible] ared the [illegible] ers of the profession."[1] B[illegible] e in [illegible] idence [illegible] local organization of [illegible] ists existed i[illegible] city. It is [illegible] difficult to [illegible] the [illegible] itself [illegible] ideas [illegible] lic. [illegible] year, 180[illegible], [illegible] per of [illegible]" [illegible], [illegible] ity [illegible] sons, [illegible] certain re[illegible] i[illegible] of journey- [illegible] Baltimore [illegible]; 1808,[3] I[illegible] 1824 a unio[illegible] of [illegible] in [illegible],[4]

[illegible] others

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[1] The Rules of [illegible] ession. Re- vised [illegible] Lar[illegible] [illegible]; [illegible] Profession, [illegible] 1, [illegible], 180[illegible]

[2] I[illegible] ion of [illegible] fix [illegible] is [illegible] ting. "It is presumed", [illegible] all [illegible] for [illegible] meeting of [illegible] ters, "[illegible] but in [illegible] into [illegible] is follow[illegible] men in other [illegible]". The Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, Vol. X[illegible], No. 3308, December 13, 180[illegible].

[3] The Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XIX, No. 31[illegible]. [illegible], 180[illegible].

[4] [illegible] York [illegible] Post, [illegible], 1[illegible].

[illegible] trades [illegible] in [illegible] century. [illegible] accounts [illegible], [illegible] considerable *esprit de corps* existed [illegible] The [illegible] cutters [illegible] stone [illegible] cutters [illegible] conflict took place in [illegible] cutters [illegible] on July 4, [illegible] Baltimore and [illegible] cutters of Baltimore. [illegible] organization by [illegible]; [illegible] local union in [illegible], [illegible] Granite Cutters of Baltimore, [illegible] of an act by [illegible] convicts from [illegible] convicts had [illegible] Granite Cutters [illegible] cutters existed [illegible]

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[1] Reports of the Industrial Commission, Vol. XVII, p. [illegible]. Washington, 1901.

[2] The American Federationist, Vol. 10, p. 379. Washington, May, 1903.

[illegible] date of [illegible] first [illegible] institutions. [illegible] writers [illegible]

[illegible] serving [illegible]

[illegible] struggle between j[illegible] printers [illegible] employers [illegible] fifty years. Fro[illegible], [illegible] reason [illegible] -
[illegible] printers. I [illegible], [illegible] -
[illegible] [1]
[illegible] of [illegible] Good.

[illegible] official [illegible] Typographical Society, [illegible] 1901. [illegible] officers, [illegible] ciety of printers, [illegible] Typographical Society, [illegible] number of 1[illegible]. In [illegible] 1903, printers were [illegible], [illegible] -makers, [illegible] "By Union, [illegible]; [illegible] of [illegible] -ter by good [illegible], [illegible] conditions of [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] bookbinders. In [illegible], [illegible] printer, [illegible] -makers, [illegible] bookbinders were [illegible], In [illegible] [2] the [illegible] [3] 1903.

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1 Bulletin of [illegible] Labor, [illegible], No. 30, p. 830-864.

2 The Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XXX, Nos. 5148 [illegible] 5153. [illegible], 1901. Also Vol. XX, No. 5905. [illegible], 1903.

3 Thomas's [illegible] of Printing.

A l[illegible] r[illegible] i[illegible] 1 09 [illegible]tion, [illegible] i[illegible] [illegible] Typographical Society, is [illegible] of [illegible] Philadelphia [illegible] printers. T[illegible] tells of the [illegible]ions [illegible] [illegible]itted [illegible]s. I[illegible], [illegible], [illegible] written, the Bu[illegible]. [illegible] Society [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] the printers of [illegible] in [illegible] association,[1] [illegible] its predecessor.

[illegible] class, [illegible], in [illegible] contract [illegible]. [illegible] Tailors was especially [illegible]riod. In 1[illegible]5, [illegible] in [illegible], [illegible]es [illegible] shillings and [illegible] in 1805, this [illegible]ring [illegible] of [illegible] shillings, [illegible]pence. A system of "[illegible]" [illegible] jobs [illegible], Several years later, [illegible]. [illegible], the journey[illegible] [illegible]llars [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]s [illegible] is; [illegible], [illegible]

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[1] Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. [illegible]1- November, 1905, p. [illegible]9. Washington, 1905.

[illegible]

[illegible] listed in Bil-[illegible]

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1 [illegible] : [illegible] P[illegible], Vol. [illegible], [illegible].

2 T[illegible] A[illegible], Vol. [illegible], [illegible] C, W[illegible], S[illegible], 210.

3 T[illegible] B[illegible] A[illegible], Vol. XIX, No. [illegible], [illegible] 30, 1905.

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1. [illegible]

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1 [illegible]

[illegible]

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1 [illegible] Conspiracy [illegible] Simpson. [illegible], 1[illegible].

of [illegible] i isk Co rts. As [illegible],

[illegible]

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1 [illegible] r, p. [illegible]. [illegible], 1 [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

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1 [illegible] Pocket No. 112 of [illegible] Report, [illegible] 1[illegible].

[illegible] ly [illegible] -
lar emphasis on [illegible] tial factors. [illegible]
[illegible] of [illegible] -
[illegible] ive [illegible], [illegible]
[illegible] cover
[illegible]

[illegible] ri[illegible], [illegible]
[illegible] c[illegible]
[illegible] llo[illegible]
[illegible] pro
[illegible] r
[illegible] tion;
[illegible] rs of all
[illegible] ce, [illegible] -
[illegible] r -
[illegible] -
[illegible] ses [illegible]
[illegible] riff [illegible]
[illegible] s [illegible] ,
[illegible] s [illegible] s,
[illegible] riff
[illegible] ce i -
[illegible] n [illegible]
[illegible] ll;
[illegible] l
[illegible] ly

[illegible]

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1 [illegible]istorical Sketch [illegible] [illegible]ical Association [illegible], 1881, [illegible].

application of its [illegible]s; [illegible] also [illegible] improvements in [illegible] art, by [illegible] premiums, [illegible] ics [illegible], [illegible] lists". [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible], [illegible] icial in [illegible] [illegible] in 1[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Franklin [illegible], [illegible] also [illegible] occasions. [illegible] of opinion [illegible] relation [illegible] consist[illegible] in[illegible]ters [illegible] Franklin [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible] co in [illegible]

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1 [illegible] icts [illegible] [illegible]

2 Constitution and By-Laws of the Franklin [illegible] ical Society. Instituted in Boston, [illegible], 18[illegible]4. [illegible], 18[illegible]4. Also Minutes of the Franklin [illegible] 18[illegible]4.

[illegible] 1803 [illegible] of 1837, [illegible] life. [illegible] era of [illegible] .

[illegible] rented [illegible] ce [illegible] in [illegible] of [illegible] s, i [illegible] for [illegible] le. [illegible] sun dis- [illegible] r- [illegible]

[illegible] of [illegible] co- [illegible] of [illegible] is was in- [illegible] ise; [illegible] ise [illegible] ,

[illegible] r, still [illegible] ly [illegible] ex- [illegible] ion [illegible] ty of [illegible] rs [illegible]

in 1791,[1] [illegible] ics still [illegible] in 1835, [illegible] de- [illegible] ours, fro[illegible] ix, [illegible] r for [illegible] ine [illegible] see resolu- ions [illegible] . [illegible] ers [illegible] ers. Ti- n [illegible] r, [illegible] d [illegible] for [illegible] of [illegible] en [illegible] ld in [illegible] ia, [illegible] r solu i n [illegible] ; [illegible] re un- nked [illegible] 1835, simulta- ons [illegible] ies for a simi- lar [illegible] d [illegible] on by the

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1 [illegible]

2 A History of [illegible] s, by [illegible] c [illegible] ster, Vol. V, p. 84. [illegible] k, [illegible] .

3 [illegible] ter, [illegible] r,l [illegible] .

4 Proceedings of [illegible] government [illegible] ions of [illegible] il [illegible] in on the [illegible] ction of the Hours of [illegible] or [illegible] se of [illegible] s. [illegible] il delp ia, 1835.

[illegible] of many crafts. In fact, [illegible] history of trade unionism during this period centers chiefly [illegible]

[illegible] societies of [illegible] cities [illegible] these was [illegible] ations, organized [illegible] to [illegible] le in politics [illegible] ces.[1] [illegible] the societies [illegible] for the purpose of [illegible] support [illegible] in strikes. In [illegible] 18[illegible] ers of New York struck [illegible] other trades in [illegible] of the carpenters [illegible] them in [illegible] ized union of all trades" [illegible] a temporary [illegible] as the [illegible] in his [illegible] son prom[illegible]

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[1] Labor Organization and Labor Politics. 1827-37 by John R. Commons. Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. XXI, p. 323, February, 1907.

plan for its accomplishment, i[illegible] seemed [illegible] in destined to sink into oblivion, Ian John Finch, of the Typographical Association of New York, on the twenty-second of June, 1833, laid before the [illegible] a circular (to other unions), [illegible] committee should be instructed to assist i[illegible] [illegible] of trades". Finally, on [illegible] of April, 1834, the General Trades' Union of [illegible] was [illegible] ined, [illegible] constitution [illegible] of [illegible] of all the primary [illegible] [illegible] financial assistance in [illegible]. The rise of the General Trades' Union of [illegible] followed by the reorganization of [illegible] in Philadelphia; and similar unions [illegible] in Boston and other cities. Finally, [illegible] 1834, [illegible] of trades of the country were, in [illegible], [illegible] National Trades' Union.[3]

[illegible] cities, each trade association [illegible] other, but

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1 Rise and Progress [illegible] General Trades' Union of the City of New York [illegible] Address to the Mechanics in the City of New York [illegible] New York, 1833.

2 George H. McNeill: [illegible] Movement, p. 82. Boston, 1887.

3 Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. XXI, p. 324. [illegible], 1907.

dren courage and the spirit of aggressiveness as well. At the same time, the attitude of the courts in its interpretation of criminal conspiracy as applied to labor disputes was becoming more liberal, and the industrial policy of the [illegible] societies, [illegible], bolder; and their beneficial [illegible] background. These [illegible] active in the earlier period [illegible], were now stimulated [illegible] New York Typographical Association [illegible] in these matters by the [illegible] of incorporation. In 1831, [illegible] Association of New York was [illegible] purposes.[1] The Baltimore [illegible] was reorganized for a second time in 1831, [illegible] societies of cordwainers between 18[illegible] definitely can be said. In 1835, [illegible] in Philadelphia an association [illegible] Beneficial Society of Journeymen Cordwainers [illegible] of Philadelphia; and [illegible] in New York, certainly in 18[illegible], in spite of the title "Beneficial Society", these associations were in reality

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[1] Historical Sketch in the New York Typographical Association of June, 1831, as amended 1833.

protective or belligerent trade unions, designed for collective bargaining. The Philadelphia organization, for example, in 1836, pursued a policy identical [illegible] modern system of boycott, [illegible] employers [illegible] refused to accede [illegible] called upon the journeymen of other trades [illegible] of a confederation of trade societies,[1] [illegible] Ship Carpenters and Caulkers [illegible] establishment of a ten hour day.[2] The agitation for this reform in New York and other cities were equally [illegible].

[illegible] public agitation in favor [illegible] aggressive [illegible] leaders of the federation of trade societies, [illegible] of municipal radicalism rapidly spread [illegible] organized, [illegible] local secession was formed in [illegible],[3] [illegible] federations formed under [illegible] of the City of New York and its vicinity, [illegible] societies [illegible] conventions

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1 Address issued to the Citizens of Government of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1836.

2 Address to the Working Men of [illegible] by [illegible]. Appendix, pp. 33-34. Boston, 1835.

3 New York Evening Post. July 21, 1836.

of coopers, carvers [illegible] ilders, leather dressers, c[illegible] [illegible]kers, tinplate [illegible] sheet iron workers, [illegible]ers.[1] In Philadelphia, the formation of [illegible] was [illegible]ted by [illegible] cigarmakers [illegible] other trades.[2]

[illegible] this period also, the labor movement in Ohio [illegible] workshops [illegible] cities of the Atlantic [illegible] westward.

[illegible] was [illegible] in 1832, [illegible] local [illegible] Wheeling, Va., Charleston, [illegible], 1834, the house carpenters of [illegible] 1836.[3] In Cincinnati, [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible] to be formed [illegible],

[illegible] movement collapsed. [illegible] of [illegible] is [illegible] in [illegible] of [illegible] New York Typographical [illegible], [illegible] Typographical Society survived [illegible] of [illegible] ess, [illegible] maintained a

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1 [illegible] Association of the City of New York [illegible] Address to the Mechanics in [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible] United States, p. 1. New York, 1835.

2 Proceedings of the [illegible] Citizens of Philadelphia on the [illegible] of [illegible] of labor [illegible] the [illegible] of the U. S. Philadelphia, 1835.

3 The Carpenter, Vol. VII, No. 8.

[illegible] i ous exist nce [illegible] il [illegible] pr s [illegible] [illegible] r. [illegible] ic[illegible] i s,
on from 1930 [illegible] 1936, [illegible] r , or over, [illegible]
[illegible] ric[illegible] l [illegible] r, [illegible] , i[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] s,
cl[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] LTD.

[illegible]

During the early days of trade unionism in this country, the journeymen of each craft constituted a fairly homogeneous body. Each shoemaker, tailor, and printer performed all parts of the work required. In fact, few sub-divided crafts existed. Differences of nationality and sex were comparatively unimportant; and the negro competition had not yet arisen. The early local union, therefore, admitted without distinction all workers within its jurisdiction employed in a certain industry.

With the division of labor and the rise of the factory, however, many crafts became sub-divided into various branches. Classes of workers gradually assumed the characteristics of distinct crafts; and it became necessary in many cases to split up the original local into several governmental bodies, one for each division of the trade. The increase in the number of females employed in many industries led to a demand for separate unions. Sub-division of the members of a trade according to sex has, indeed, as a rule been found impracticable. Men, since women usually perform a different kind of work, may more often be organized separately from men by the principle of sub-division into locals according to branch of the trade. After the civil war, prejudice felt towards the newly emancipated negroes, caused the members of those trades in which they became competitors to organize them in many cases into separate locals. Good government has also demanded that, whenever possible, different nationalities transact business in separate parliamentary bodies;

and, for the same reason, when the membership of a local increases so greatly that the mass meeting becomes unwieldy, another sub-division of the organization often takes place.

The [illegible] cause of schism in the local union has been a splitting up of the craft into numerous sub-crafts or branches. In place of the shoe maker, who received the leather from the middleman, and made the whole shoe in his own little shop, there appeared the cutter, the [illegible], the presser, the [illegible], the laster, the heeler, the sole tacker, the [illegible], the shoe fastener, all working together in the [illegible] establishments to produce the finished article. The tailor who cut the garment, and sewed it with his needle, has been replaced in the ready made clothing industry, and, to a certain extent, even in the custom trade, by the [illegible], the cutter, the [illegible], the stitcher, the [illegible], the [illegible], the presser on coats, the presser on pants, the roller, the folder, and a few others.

At first, [illegible] divisions of trade [illegible] [illegible] rigidly fixed. The [illegible] work of [illegible] cigar is today often divided between a leaf selector, stripper, filler, breaker, and a roller, [illegible] cigar makers insist, whenever possible that [illegible] made an "all around workman", capable of [illegible] cigar. [illegible], recall, the several branches [illegible] characteristics of distinct trades. [illegible] only is special part of [illegible] right of [illegible]. He is paid a different [illegible] in his peculiar class [illegible].

[illegible] several sub-divisions of the original [illegible] governmental body have [illegible]. In the first place, each group of workmen [illegible] reserves the right of the other groups to [illegible] matters which they consider their particular class affairs.

If, in addition, one group of workers is in the majority and is [illegible] the rest, friction is almost inevitable. [illegible], if as is usually the case, one or more branches of [illegible] are more skilled than the rest, they [illegible] separately, in order not to bear the brunt of [illegible] the [illegible] position of the unskilled workers. At the same time, the close co-operation required to maintain a uniform scale for journeymen performing the same work, is unnecessary between the several groups of employees in an industry, each of [illegible] is paid

a different scale.

The division of work between certain coöperating groups of laborers took place in some industries long before the rise of trade unionism; and, in such cases, each of several sub-trades, when it was [illegible] unionized, [illegible] formed independent local associations. Since the days when Solomon used in the building of his temple the "stone-quarrers", the "hewers of stone", the "masons", the "hewers and workers of timber", [illegible] "skillful [illegible] in [illegible] silver, in brass, in iron", or "the [illegible] of graving", the various classes of [illegible] have constituted more or less distinct crafts. The [illegible], therefore, of American trade unionism, the [illegible], the bricklayers, and the carpenters i[illegible] [illegible] organized into separate local unions. In the early part of the nineteenth century, there were [illegible] upon a building of a ship a number of different crafts, such as the sail-maker, the rigger, the ship-carpenter, the ship-joiner, and the caulker.[1] We find, indeed, that the ship-carpenters and caulkers of Boston were, about 1832, united in one trade society.[2] Much of the ship-building trades, however, [illegible], organized themselves into separate unions.

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1 The Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser. Vol. XIX, No. 3188, June 30, 1809.

2 Address to the working men of New England on the state of education and on the condition of the producing classes in Europe and America. Delivered in Boston by Seth Luther. Appendix, p. 33-34. (Boston, 1832).

If a local union exists [illegible] fore [illegible] craft [illegible] up i[illegible] various branches, this part[illegible] local also breaks up in several corresp[illegible] overn[illegible]tal bodies. [illegible] building trades further cleavage was in process even [illegible] the period prior to [illegible] of 1912. During this [illegible] period of American trade [illegible], [illegible] individual was [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] plasterer. [illegible] confined himself exclusively to one class of work. In Philadelphia, the bricklayers were organized into one society, [illegible] plasterers, into another. In New York, [illegible] bricklayers, stone masons, and plasterers were, [illegible], [illegible] association, known as the New York [illegible] Society. It is possible, however, that this society existed purely [illegible] building purposes, and hence that [illegible] division of the several branches of the craft into separate or [illegible] societies [illegible].[1] Today, while, in the large cities the bricklayers, stone masons, and plasterers constitute practically distinct crafts, in the smaller towns, where [illegible] still [illegible] permit of such specialization, [illegible] all three. While, therefore, in the larger cities, each of these crafts of the trade is formed into a separate union, in the small towns, the three crafts are, on account of this overlapping of trades as well as on account of their paucity of members, united in one mixed union.

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1 See page [illegible]

The [illegible]ters of New York were, in 1850, [illegible] in [illegible] association, [illegible] as the H[illegible]ers' Society. I[illegible], we find that the several branches of matters in [illegible] city [illegible] ing to become distributed among several local unions. There was for example, one society of [illegible] finishers and a [illegible] of silk matters [illegible] General Trades' Union of [illegible] City of New York, [illegible] [1] Similarly, very early in [illegible] four groups of workers, the printers, [illegible] pressmen, [illegible] and the paper-makers [illegible] of a book or newspaper; [illegible] local associations. Later, by division of labor [illegible] of new processes, [illegible] from [illegible] finally heterogeneous trade of printers, [illegible] compositors, the pressmen, [illegible] paper, and the photo-engravers. [illegible] of some opposition on the part of [illegible] compositors, [illegible] local union of printers was split up into several [illegible] bodies. In many other industries, as the division of labor has progressed, six or a dozen societies have, in [illegible] cities, sometimes replaced the original local union of the trade.

The series [illegible] finally to the national union, as has been exemplified, in the last few years, by

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1 Rise and Progress of the General Trades' Union of the City of New York and its Vicinity, in an Address to the Mechanics of the City of New York, and throughout the United States. (New York, 1850).

[illegible] secession of the steam fitters to form a national organization distinct from that of the plumbers, and the even more recent secession of the electrotypers and photo-engravers from the International Typographical Union.

Nevertheless, the several trades or sub-trades in an industry have in some instances, leading them to federation. [illegible] to bargain with the employer. It is, however, difficult to determine the [illegible] of federation of the national unions in an industry; [illegible] to the right to certain work [illegible], this [illegible] membership are, indeed, [illegible] of trades. But disputes [illegible] Federation of Labor has usually [illegible] the [illegible] possible, say, if there is a possible basis of dispute, but [illegible] decided by tribunals [illegible] the general government of the [illegible] unions. Moreover, as the division of labor is accentuated, and as machinery is introduced, work processes [illegible] simplified, and a final stage is reached, where differences between the sub-trades [illegible] to be obliterated.

It becomes easier to pass from one to the other; and a [illegible] of workers in all branches of the industry is rendered unnecessary. In the large meat packing houses of Chicago, apprenticeship is unknown. The unskilled worker who enters as pecker or sucker may ascend in a scale of [illegible] to tail ripper or pullet raiser, and may eventually become

[illegible] expert floorsman.[1] Similarly, among [illegible] the drivers, [illegible] is a constant movement upward from the least skilled to [illegible] most skilled work. The breaker boy, the door [illegible], or the [illegible] boy may later become a driver of a [illegible], or may by successive steps be promoted from [illegible] laborer to driver, and, if [illegible] ability, from driver to fire boss or foreman. By a reverse process, a skilled driver, incapacitated by accident or [illegible], [illegible] to [illegible] picking, and so becomes a breaker boy [illegible]. The [illegible], moreover, with the movement towards specialization [illegible] traditional trade amalgamation, dual [illegible] have always been distinct trades, such as the [illegible] and the malster in the brewery, [illegible] which [illegible] of what was once a single trade, are [illegible] by the [illegible] Shoe Workers International Union, [illegible] between so called skilled and unskilled as in the case of the blacksmiths and their helpers.

[illegible] organizations must recognize in the form of their [illegible] that they are trade federations; and on [illegible] in 1907, [illegible] industry is unionized in [illegible] crafts or branches of the craft [illegible], [illegible] locals, or [illegible] as separate locals. So [illegible], for [illegible], pursued this policy

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[1] The unit of [illegible] in the Meat Cutters' and Butchers' Union, by T. [illegible] Blocker in The Johns Hopkins University Circular. New Series, 1905, No. 6. (June, 1905).

from the beginning. Thus, the very first constitution of the National Union of Iron Molders, formed in 1859, provided that one local of machine moulders and another of hollow-ware moulders could be formed in each city. Other unions have subsequently been forced to split up the local as sub-division. [illegible] appeared in [illegible] craft, when the National Typographical Union was organized in 1852, the work of the printer had not yet [illegible] in [illegible] cities there the pressmen [illegible] craft [illegible] distinct from the compositors. [illegible], the Typographical Union permitted [illegible] local [illegible] in each city. But, finally, [illegible] on the part of the pressmen, the constitution of the union was amended so as to allow the pressmen to form [illegible] local [1]. [illegible] national associations of several trades [illegible] of a trade, amalgamate, the new federation [illegible] recognize in its unit of government [illegible] sub-divisions of its membership. The [illegible] of the Sons of Vulcan, which, in 1879, decided to [illegible] United Brotherhood of Iron and Steel Workers, Rollers, and [illegible] of the United States, and the National Union of Iron and Steel Roll Hands,

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1 By-laws of the National Union of Iron Molders, adopted 1859. Article 3, Sec. 2. (In Proceedings of the First National Convention, Philadelphia, July 5-8, 1859. Philadelphia, 1859).

2 The Government of the Typographical Union, by George E. Barnett. In Studies in American Trade Unionism, p. 14-25.

also adopted, at the same time, a resolution that the local lodge of the three original national associations be allowed to merge in their independent existence as lodges of the new federation.[1]

The butchers in certain closely related industries, such as those employed in the manufacture of a commodity, and those who make its by-products, or the workmen who produce articles by similar processes, as, for example, the iron and brass workers, or leather, are often united in one national union. Such national associations sometimes organize their members into local bodies according to the branch of the industry in which they are employed, and sometimes, in addition, according to the particular part which they perform in each branch of the industry. In the large packing houses of Chicago, for example, the employees make cuts from hog, sheep, and cattle, the trimmers, the manufacture of lard and oleomargarine. The work in each department is much further sub-divided. Thus in the department of cattle butchering alone, there are over thirty specialists, such as the skinner, the punch trimmer, the shoulder splitter, the flatman, etc., as has been already noted, the skilled butcher who enters any department must possess the production of the highest to the lowest grade of work.[2] The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, therefore, found it both possible and

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[1] The National Labor Tribune. Vol. IV, No. 32, p. 1. Pittsburgh, Aug. 6, 1870.

[2] See page

most desirable to organize together in one local union, the men in each department, both skilled and unskilled. In the city of Chicago, for example, there are locals of cattle butchers, sheep butchers, hide cellar men, cleanerprice workers, sausage makers, lard refiners, and so on.[1]

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union divides its members into locals primarily according to the particular [illegible] in which they are employed. Subordinate unions of ladies' tailors, skirt makers, and cloak operators [illegible], for example, [illegible] in New York City. But the cutters, [illegible], [illegible], one of the most skilled groups and [illegible] cutters, desire, whenever possible, to be organized separately from the other divisions of the trade.

However, cutters of all kinds of ladies' garments are united by certain craft interests, and so are usually gathered together in a local union. In New York, however, some [illegible] have attempted to subdivide them according to the [illegible] in which they are employed. The Gotham Association, for example, is composed of all cutters upon

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1 For an account of the method of organization [illegible] the growth of locals among the workers in the different departments of the Chicago packing houses, see Official Journal of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. Vol. 11, No. 42, p. 1-12. Syracuse, March 1905. See also "Labor Conditions in Slaughtering and Meat Packing" by Professor John R. Commons. Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. XIX, 1904, pp. 1-32.

[illegible]able goods. The United Cloak and Suit Cutters' Associ-tion claims jurisdiction over cutters in all shops devoted exclusively to the [illegible]ufacture of ladies' outer garments. The cloak pressers are also in some places formed into a separate union. The United Garment Workers, composed of workers on men's ready-made clothing, carries out more completely this double sub-division into locals according to kind of garment, and according to particular parts performed in making a clothing.

In Lawrence, Mass., to maintain the line of demarcation between the several groups of garment workers; and disputes as to jurisdiction sometimes occur between different local unions. Ladies' cloak and suit factories, for example, make [illegible] regularly, or at times when the [illegible] line of goods falls off; and this has occasioned friction between the association of ladies' cloak [illegible] and the association of cutters on ladies' [illegible] in New York City.[1] Friction also occasionally exists between [illegible] local union and one claiming jurisdiction over [illegible] sub-division of the trade. Thus, to illustrate [illegible] dispute [illegible] ladies' garment workers of New York, the [illegible] Knife Cutters Association, composed only of cloak-cutters has come into conflict with the above-mentioned United Cloak and Suit Cutters' Associati

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1 Quarterly Report of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. December 1, 1902 to March 1, 1903, p. 4. (New York, n.d.)

which claims jurisdiction over all cutters on ladies' outer garments.[1]

There are, of course, some national associations which do not organize their members into mass meetings according to the character of their employment.

The United Mine Workers, for example, [illegible] all the employees in each plant into a single local union. Neither sub-divide their membership according to the character of the craft. Similarly, the United Mine Workers [illegible] together in the same governmental body all employees [illegible] colliery, irrespective of the kind of work [illegible] employed.

Unions of unskilled laborers, also, need not sub-divide their membership according to the character of their employment. The Laborers' Protective Society of New York City is, for example, composed of all classes of bricklayers' and masons' helpers, [illegible]-carrier, the mortar-mixer, and others. The National Association of Blast Furnace Workers and Smelters of America is also an organization of men who, with the exception of the keeper of the furnace, are comparatively unskilled. No distinction is, therefore, made in their unit of organization for the character of the work.

After the admission of the cigar packers to the Cigar Makers' International Union in 1888, a law was urged for

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1 Report of Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Boston, Mass., June 6-9, 1904, p. 10. (New York, n.d.)

several conventions to the effect that packers must always be organized with separate locals, and that if there were not in any place a sufficient number of packers to secure a charter, they should be obliged to deposit their cards with the nearest packers' union.[1] But the cigar makers have never consented to accept such a measure. The pressmen did, indeed, succeed in obtaining the passage of a similar law by the International Typographical Union. Few, if any other, national unions have, however, pursued anything like such a policy.

The general rule of trade national associations appears to be, where, in large cities, a separate union for all or the most important branches of the trade, but, in small places, to unite all workers in one mass meeting. In fact, a secondary advantage, frequently urged, in favor of national amalgamation of trades or sub-trades, is the possibility of maintaining unions in small centers of the industry by organizing mixed locals of the related crafts. Thus, one reason advanced for the proposed admission of boiler makers to the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' International Union in 1872 was that "there are not enough boiler makers in any city or town in the South to form a union of their own."[2]

The method of organizing union workmen into locals

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1 Proceedings of the seventeenth session of the Cigar Makers' International Union. Binghamton, N. Y., September 19-28, 1887. Buffalo, 1887.

2 Machinists' and Blacksmiths' International Journal, Vol. IX, No. 5, p. 564. Cleveland, March 1872.

differs, therefore, not only as between national associations, but also between members of the same organization in different cities. Some national associations, as the Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers, and the Caulkers, Ship Carpenters and Joiners, have granted separate charters to the several groups within the craft only in the largest centers of the industry. The boot and shoe workers organize in the large shoe centers local unions of many branches of the trade. In other places, it is practicable to grant separate charters to the lasters and the cutters, the probably for the most skilled classes of workers. All other subdivisions of the craft are formed into a mixed union. In most of the smaller centers, all boot and shoe workers are gathered together in one local union.

National associations which early granted separate charters to each branch of the trade, have frequently refused to further sub-divide the local. The Iron Molders' International Union, for example, at first, allowed only one union of each branch of the trade to be formed in any place.[1] It was urged in favor of such a policy that the existence of two

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[1] By-Laws of the National Union of Iron Molders, adopted 1859, Article 3, sec. 2. (In Proceedings of the First National Convention, Philadelphia, July 5-8, 1859. Philadelphia, 1859).

or more unions of the trade or same branch of the trade in any locality meant two or more conflicting wage scales and apprentice rules, that one large union was more economical than several small ones; that, finally, if at any time, suspended members or a dissatisfied minority could secede and obtain a separate charter the authority of the local union would be undermined. Sometimes also, the members suspended by one local union are able to obtain admittance to another local, holding a charter in the same city. For example, about 1884, there existed in New York City, a German branch of the Bricklayers' International Union, which for the sake of the additional revenue to the treasury, admitted bricklayers suspended by the other locals in that city.[1] Attempts to issue a second charter to members of a trade or sub-trade in any place, are, therefore, usually opposed by the local union already existing; and the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union,[2] the United Brewery Workmen,[3] and a few other national associations recognize in the composition of their basic laws existing only differences in the character of employment. Many national or international associations have also found it necessary to make further subdivision of the local union according to differences of sex,

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1 Report of President. (In Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, St. Louis, Mo., January 11, 1886, p. 13-32. Albany, N.Y.)

2 Convention of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union. Revised, 190[illegible]. Sec. 41. Boston, 1906.

3 Constitution of the International Union of the United Brewery Workmen of America, Article IX, sec. 1. (Cincinnati, n.d.).

color, nationality, and sometimes merely or even mere con-venience.

It is highly desirable that whenever possible to be organized into separate local unions. Experience has shown that to amalgamate organizations composed largely of women, [illegible] in the locals, [illegible] not accord [illegible] discuss [illegible] particular class concerns, [illegible] confined to such questions of interest to [illegible] sisterhood [illegible]. Certainly, women's [illegible] enrollment [illegible] feminine section of the trade, [illegible] enthusiasm.

[illegible] of women undoubtedly existed at a very early date. The United Beneficial Society of Coordainers of Philadelphia, organized about 1683, a ladies' Branch, [illegible] existence, and came together only [illegible] times.[1] The coordainers of Philadelphia also formed a ladies' branch about this time.[2] The female shoe stitchers of Lynn formed, in 1845, a Stitchers' League, which was wrecked by factory employments after short-lived existence. In 1855, the stitchers of Lynn secretly reorganized for several years; and it was these same stitchers of Lynn, Mass, in 1868, [illegible] first of the Boot and Shoe Workers to apply for a charter from the Knights of Labor.

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1 Rise and Progress of the General Trades' Union of the City of New York, and its vicinity, with an Address to the Mechanics in the City of New York and throughout the United States. New York, 1833, p. 1.

2 Address Issued to the Citizens and Government of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1845.

They were organized as Daughters of Labor Assembly No. 301[illegible], and, in accordance with the policy of the Knights of Labor, admitted not stitchers, but also women working [illegible] trades.[1] The female laundry workers employed in the collar factories of Troy organized about 18[illegible], a Collar Laundry Union, which at [illegible] hundred. [illegible] Union, the Working [illegible] Female Parasol and Umbrella Makers' [illegible] in New York City.[2] In 1874, [illegible] union independent of [illegible] succeeded in organizing only about fifty [illegible] twenty-four thousand, employed [illegible] clothing industry of [illegible] of the Daughters of St Crispin [illegible] lodges of stitchers [illegible] places. In the same year, [illegible] Women's Unions of New York State [illegible] in New York City; and an attempt [illegible] Working Women's Association; [illegible] of the

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[1] The [illegible], Vol. 1, No. [illegible], p. 1, Troy, February 1[illegible], 18[illegible]9.

[2] Annual Address of the President to the Officers and Delegates. (In Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Session of the Working Men's Assembly. [illegible] New York. Albany, N. Y., January [illegible], 1

[3] National Labor Tribune, Vol. 11, No. 2[illegible], p. 1, Pittsburg, July 1[illegible], 1874.

con[illegible]tion.[1] The depression [illegible] in 1873, [illegible], however, [illegible] destruction of all women's societies in common with the general destruction of all trade unions throughout the country. Of late years, [illegible] as compared [illegible] trade unions [illegible] proceeds [illegible] slowly, [illegible] the process in the [illegible] in the [illegible]. In [illegible], indeed, [illegible] considerable [illegible], the overwhelming majority of workers in [illegible] remain [illegible] organized. [illegible] the Lady Cracker Packers, Waitresses, [illegible] Waitresses' Union, the [illegible] Box Makers', [illegible] important exceptions,- [illegible] girls and the stenographers,- [illegible] in Chicago.

[illegible], [illegible] and shoe stitchers, the overall workers [illegible], all the workers in the branch of [illegible], the problem of organization [illegible] division according [illegible] the character of [illegible]. The female branch of the trade is, [illegible], [illegible] large cities into a separate local. In [illegible] places, a mixed union of both sexes is formed. Sometimes, however, [illegible] interests

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[1] Annual Address of the President (In Proceedings of the Sixty Annual Session of the New York State Workingmen's Assembly. Albany, N. Y., January 24-27, 1911).

[illegible] male and female portion of the trade are closely intermoven, it is convenient to organize them together even in large cities. Thus, while the bookbinders have formed a women's union of stitchers, in New York City, it has been found necessary to combine the female stitchers of New York with the male folders.

[illegible] New York, a mixed local is usually formed rather to enforce the [illegible]. Thus, while the female stitchers [illegible], employed in the shirt, waist, and collar [illegible] organized into separate locals from their co-[illegible], finishers form partly men and partly women, [illegible] union. In 1899, the International [illegible] granted a charter to the female compositors of [illegible]. But after several years experience, it was [illegible] asking for a lower wage scale than [illegible] finishers. The charter was, therefore, revoked [illegible] union has never since [illegible] the [illegible] unions of women.[1] One important exception [illegible] Cutters and Butcher Workmen, which [illegible] last few years, women have partly replaced [illegible] work in the large meat packing houses. [illegible] others have made no attempt to force the women to join women's unions, existing in such

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[1] Studies in American Trade Unionism, cited by Hollander and Barnett, p. 13.

department. On the contrary, the female employees scattered throughout all departments are at Chicago, South Omaha, and other large centers [illegible] into one large local, known as the "Women's Union".[1]

[illegible] industrial competitor [illegible] local trade union. After [illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible] emancipated [illegible] American women. "The [illegible]", [illegible] of the "Women's Assembly of the [illegible]," will no longer submit to occupy positions [illegible], will seek an equality [illegible] professions. For a time, [illegible] against their labor; and all may be well. But I feel impressed with the necessity of preparing [illegible] such colored women as may be [illegible] organizations. If we discard this element of labor we refuse to recognize it, capital will [illegible]

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Unit of Government in the Meat Cutters' and Butchers' Union, by T. W. Glocker. In the Johns Hopkins University Studies, Ninth Series 1905, 190[illegible]. June, 1905.

it and use it to our great disadvantage."[1] Indeed, already in 1867, the importation of colored workers from Portsmouth, Va., to Boston, Mass., during the struggle in that city for an eight hour day, had been a practical illustration of how the negro might be used as a strike breaker.[2] The white mechanics, however, consistently refused, at this time, to admit colored men into their craft local unions; but there were few localities in which the Negroes were employed at the occupations [illegible] the formation of separate colored unions. Partly [illegible] efforts of the Workingmen's Assembly of the State of New York, three organizations of colored men were, about 1870, formed in New York City, namely the Saloon Men's Protective and Benevolent Union, the Colored Waiters' Association, and the First Colored Labor Institute. A Colored National Labor Union was also formed in 1869, and held several annual sessions. The federation aimed to secure [illegible] increase the number of occupations [illegible] full time employment. It also gave attention to [illegible] better school facilities [illegible], and was interested in certain cooperative [illegible] building schemes.[3] But the desire

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1 Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Session of the Workingmen's Assembly of the State of New York, held in the City of Albany, N. Y., January 26-28, 1870, p. 8.

2 Address of the National Labor Congress to the Workingmen of the United States, Chicago, 1867.

3 Circular issued by the Colored National Labor Union to the colored workmen of the United States, [illegible] in trades, [illegible] industrial [illegible], calling for [illegible], [illegible] Washington, [illegible], 1869.

for political rights and for recognition by the political parties, at this time, completely obsessed the minds of the negroes to the exclusion of all social matters. Near the associations [illegible] formally organized into political clubs; and [illegible] were [illegible] upon them and [illegible] in a powerful and with little success.

[illegible] of cigar makers, bricklayers, [illegible], at first, absolutely excluded negroes from membership. The latter [illegible] between 1870 and 1883, [illegible] existing law so as to admit colored [illegible] in efforts to [illegible] national convention of bricklayers; [illegible] was turned down. [illegible] 1883, [illegible] president and the secretary of [illegible] policy of absolute [illegible]. The secretary said that he had been [illegible] local unions of negroes in the south, [illegible] unions to ally themselves with the international [illegible]. If the associations were admitted, he could, [illegible], be used as a nucleus for organizing other locals of colored men [illegible] the south. The international officers advised [illegible] admission of the negro on purely selfish grounds, however. The negro, they declared, had entered the arena of competition with the skilled worker; and, to exercise some restraint over his competition, it became necessary to bring him into the union. The secretary

also i[illegible]mated that, if mixed locals or locals composed exclusively of colored men were admitted, it would be more easily possible, - in a quiet and unostentatious way,- to initiate the policy of driving the black bricklayers out of the trade and of substituting for them white skilled labor.[1] Finally, in 1884, it was decided by a referendum vote that the international executive board could grant charters to local unions composed exclusively of colored men.[2]

The plan of [illegible] International Association of Machinists originated with a [illegible] machinists of Atlanta, about 1882, [illegible] Southern origin, the membership of the association was, at first, limited to white machinists. The International Union desired, shortly after its organization, to join the Federation of Labor, but were refused admittance, because the constitution of the Federation forbade the enrollment of national unions which drew distinctions as to color. At the participation of the officers of the Federation of Labor, a rival international organization, which did not draw color lines, was also formed, in 1881. In 1884, however, the color line in the membership was removed by the International Association of Machinists; and,

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1 Secretary's Report. (In Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the Bricklayers' National Union, Providence, R. I., January 8, 1883, pp. 21-23. Cincinnati, 1883).

2 Secretary's Report. (In Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, Cincinnati, O., January 14, 1884, p. 21. Albany, 1884).

in the following year, the two rival organizations united.[1] National unions of those trades which have felt most keenly the competition of the negro, have, however, admitted them from the first. Thus, the circular issued by the first national convention of miners held in Youngstown, Ohio, in 1873, extended "a cordial invitation" to negro miners.[2]

[illegible] national associations have removed the [illegible] of discrimination, local [illegible] have frequently refused to admit negroes, [illegible] insisted that they be organized under separate charters, [illegible], no distinction, as to color, is made in [illegible]. Shortly after the women in the Chicago [illegible] were unionized, a colored girl asked admittance to the city [illegible]. "Admit her", said the President after [illegible] silence, "and let every one give her a [illegible]". Since that time, colored women have been [illegible] in membership.[3] In the south, however, [illegible] are [illegible], and prejudice is stronger, [illegible] separate local. In one instance, the [illegible] of New Orleans, about 1884, refused to join the local union of the trade affiliated with the National [illegible] of Carpenters and Joiners,

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1 Reports of the Industrial Commission. Vol. XVII, p. [illegible]. [illegible], 1900.

2 Printers' Labor Tribune, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 4. November 21, 1[illegible]

3 Official Journal of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Vol. 2, No. 37, p. 28. Syracuse, October, 1902.

[illegible] because the charter for New Orleans was already held by a few blacks, and, at that time, the Brotherhood refused to [illegible] more than one charter in the same city.[1] Later, the International Union of Carpenters was forced to amend its laws so as to permit the [illegible] of more than one union in one place; [illegible] different locals, composed wholly of [illegible] carpenters, [illegible] in the Southern States.

[illegible] has led to further sub-division of the trade [illegible] government in the trade union. The [illegible] Civil Service Commission found some ninety [illegible] divisions of [illegible] trades. The employers of the Colorado [illegible] Company, it is said, of thirty-two [illegible] divisions [illegible] seven different languages. In the [illegible] Chicago, Germans, Bohemians, [illegible], Poles, Slovaks, Italians, and Greeks have succeeded each other in bewildering succession. Obviously, it is frequently impossible to organize each of these many races into separate locals; and national trade

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Report of the General Secretary. (In Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, August 3-9, 1904. Chicago, Ill., n.d.).

unions whose members speak many tongues, often refuse to attempt it. Resort is made to various expedients in order that business may be transacted in joint meetings. Constitutions, circulars, and all other documents are printed in several languages. Interpreters are used at the meetings of [illegible]; on occasion separate meetings are created for each language [illegible]; [illegible] officers are usually [illegible] [illegible] nationalities. In a few cases, [illegible] meetings in adjoining rooms; the propositions [illegible] simultaneously [illegible] on key. [illegible] difficulties [illegible]; [illegible], when race antagonisms arise, [illegible] self-division of the local.

[illegible], [illegible] social differences also cause ill-feeling, [illegible] division according to race. In [illegible] cities, [illegible] of foreign cigar makers, composed of Germans, Spaniards, Cubans, [illegible] Italians, [illegible] prominent [illegible] North, [illegible] formed in New York City. [illegible], [illegible] public agitation in favor of [illegible], [illegible] discussion of these political and [illegible] questions [illegible] result that the local [illegible] [illegible].[1] However, [illegible] German workmen who come to this country [illegible] [illegible]

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[1] Cigar Makers' International Journal, Vol. 3, No. 10, p. 3. New York, May 1878.

[illegible]listic theories so prevalent [illegible] [illegible]ers of [illegible]-[illegible]pear trade unions. They [illegible] constituted to discuss fully i[illegible] [illegible] things, political and social questions, and desire [illegible] [illegible]tion as [illegible] to spread the prop[illegible] of socialism. [illegible], [illegible] conflict [illegible], [illegible] re-sul[illegible] [illegible] has split [illegible] independent bodies. [illegible], [illegible] socialists seceded from the [illegible], [illegible] Workers International Union. [illegible] organization known as the A[illegible] [illegible] Workers' Socialist [illegible], [illegible] issued a paper called "[illegible]", [illegible] socialistic doctrines [illegible]. Between [illegible] 1882, about three thousand German exiles [illegible] [illegible], mostly all of them [illegible] lists of the school of Karl Marx and Lassalle. They joined [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] more a month; [illegible] [illegible] forth into open rebellion, [illegible] [illegible] members was "all officers [illegible] [illegible]". A regular political [illegible], [illegible] both sides [illegible] [illegible]. At [illegible] time, socialists [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] classes, as a "[illegible] [illegible]", [illegible] the efforts of the American [illegible] to secure its exclusion by the [illegible] legislature. Finally, after a failure to elect [illegible] treasurer, [illegible] capture [illegible], the German element seceded, and

later united [illegible] the American Tobacco Workers' Association of New York to form the Cigar Makers' Progressive Union, an organization [illegible] of the International Union for several years.[1]

[illegible], each of the [illegible] divisions [illegible] trade [illegible] a separate local [illegible]. [illegible] of the compositors and [illegible], [illegible] division of [illegible] trade, separate local [illegible] formed. For instance, [illegible] Butcher Workmen, and the [illegible], [illegible] sub-divisions, the [illegible] butcher workmen have [illegible] distinctions as to [illegible] Workers have organized [illegible] Italians, employed as [illegible]; [illegible], when the [illegible] is large enough to justify [illegible], [illegible] is possible only in the larger cities.

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1 Cigar Makers' International Journal, Vol. 7, Nos. 8-11, New York, April-August 1[illegible]. Also Report of the President. (In Proceedings of the Fifty-Sixth Session, [illegible], Oct., [illegible]-[illegible], 1[illegible]. ([illegible], 1[illegible]).

[illegible] jurisdiction of local [illegible] is usually bounded by the corporate limits of a town or city for which it is organized. In some cases, however, its territorial jurisdiction is [illegible] to include small [illegible] lying [illegible]. Thus, [illegible] such locals, [illegible] as well as [illegible], [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible] in a large city. The [illegible] local of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, for example, has jurisdiction over a radius of fifty miles from [illegible], and [illegible] in several [illegible], as well as [illegible] several [illegible]. On [illegible] occasions, a local of the [illegible] Union has opposed the [illegible] of [illegible] workers in a small [illegible] [illegible] the presence of a separate [illegible] [illegible] of its size. The Iron [illegible], [illegible], and other international organizations, [illegible], [illegible] small number of craftsmen in a [illegible] [illegible] a local [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] if [illegible] first local. [illegible], [illegible] workers in any place [illegible] [illegible], a separate [illegible] is [illegible].

In [illegible] cases, certain peculiar [illegible] of the trade have rendered necessary the formation of locals of [illegible]

ider [illegible] rritorial jurisdiction [illegible] e President's [illegible] of [illegible] York City. [illegible] s [illegible] rd iron [illegible] rs, for ex [illegible], [illegible] ut [illegible] olonies [illegible] ies [illegible] ld [illegible] s. [illegible] rial j [illegible] ction [illegible] local [illegible] ch [illegible] is, [illegible] ure, [illegible] ed [illegible] i [illegible] se isol [illegible] colo [illegible] s. [illegible] ll [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] - i [illegible] l [illegible] rs in form-[illegible] r [illegible] s. [illegible] on [illegible] e compressed air [illegible] s, [illegible] ells, [illegible] i [illegible] s. All the i [illegible] rkers have their offices in [illegible], [illegible] e colonies of an [illegible] ; [illegible] ion of the craft, [illegible] ional orr ization, is really [illegible] rs with [illegible] rs in [illegible] , [illegible] ch colony in- tain [illegible] months in [illegible] . [illegible] ir [illegible] s are [illegible] , [illegible] ll po [illegible] [illegible] ll [illegible] rs, [illegible] o [illegible] i [illegible] .

[illegible] rial j risdiction of a loc l [illegible] confined [illegible] e co porate li its [illegible] , [illegible] ough i [illegible] ce [illegible] n [illegible] ployed in [illegible] ir [illegible] ra [illegible] e trade, its [illegible] rs ip fr [illegible] ly becomes [illegible]

[illegible] for good government. The meetings degenerate [illegible] deliberation. Intelligent discussion of any important question is difficult. [illegible] advocate a [illegible] conservative policy [illegible]. Factions and cliques are inevitably created, [illegible] by their acrimonious bickerings [illegible].

Unscrupulous leaders [illegible] the advantage of such conditions to establish [illegible] in power. In the days of Sam Parks, [illegible] of the structural iron workers, [illegible] of structural iron workers [illegible] was nearly four thousand; and meetings [illegible] small hall with a seating capacity [illegible]. Parks built up a cohort of [illegible] position and his power over employers [illegible] choice employment, such as [illegible], desired re-election or needed a vote [illegible], all his adherents, or [illegible], packed with [illegible]; [illegible] other members failed to find admission.

A similar [illegible] peculiar condition of things has, [illegible], existed in New York and Chicago unions of bricklayers and in local unions of other trades. For example, about 1890, the local union of bricklayers, No. 7, New York, had a membership of two thousand, and met in a hall with a seating capacity of three hundred and fifty. There were

s v r l f c i o [illegible] o [illegible] ization; [illegible] o, [illegible] o
secure [illegible] o [illegible] o [illegible] particular [illegible] are, [illegible] o cli [illegible] o l
so [illegible] ll, [illegible] r
f c i o w l [illegible] le [illegible] o [illegible] room. It is
[illegible]
[illegible] l f [illegible] -
[illegible] s [illegible] o
r c i [illegible] o [illegible] ring f c i o s [illegible] r
[illegible] r. [illegible] e inter n t i o n l
[illegible] l [illegible] proposed [illegible]
[illegible] s, [illegible] o r e
[illegible] ing five [illegible] r e d,
[illegible] ive [illegible] r e d, [illegible]
c [illegible] l [illegible] [illegible] l s.[1] A r u l l i [illegible]
[illegible] l [illegible] d r e d was, in [illegible],
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] rs in life.[2]
[illegible]

[illegible] l [illegible] ly [illegible]
[illegible] ce, sex, color,

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1 A[illegible] l R p o r t o f [illegible] P r [illegible] S e c r e t a r y o f [illegible] e B r i c k l a y e r s' [illegible] M a s o n s' I n t e r n a t i o n a l U n i o n [illegible] e p e a r [illegible] N o v e m b e r 30, 1880, p. [illegible]. C o [illegible], N. Y., 1880. F o r a [illegible] - c r i p t i o n o f s i m i l a r c o n d i t i o n s i n t h e [illegible] l o c a l o f B r i c k l a y e r s, s e e R e p o r t s o f [illegible] P r e s i d e n t [illegible] S e c r e t a r y o f [illegible] B r i c k l a y e r s' a n d M a s o n s' I n t e r n a t i o n a l U n i o n f o r 1 8 8 [illegible]. [illegible] i n g t o n, ([illegible] .a.).

2 C o n s t i t u t i o n [illegible] R u l e s f o r L o c a l U n i o n s o f [illegible] U n i t e d B r o t h e r h o o d o f C a r p e n t e r s a n d J o i n e r s, [illegible] ([illegible], [illegible])

[illegible] locality. For example, the structural iron workers' local of Sam Parks' day has been replaced by three locals, one of housesmiths and bridgemen, another of inside architectural bridge and structural iron workers, and a third of [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible] large local unions are splitting [illegible] into smaller units [illegible] governmental efficiency. [illegible] place of [illegible] in [illegible]. In the spring of 1[illegible], for instance, [illegible] blacksmiths was formed in Philadelphia [illegible]. As the membership increased, the [illegible] of the city withdrew [illegible] in the vicinity of the navy yard and [illegible]. [illegible] local was formed in the [illegible] part of Philadelphia.[1]

[illegible], uniformity and harmonious co[illegible] [illegible] ions [illegible] in the [illegible] tion of district councils. [illegible] division of the local [illegible] too small, has been [illegible] of applicants [illegible]. In [illegible] charter, [illegible]

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[1] Machinists' and Blacksmiths' International Journal, Vol. 1[illegible], No. [illegible], p. [illegible]. Cleveland, March 1[illegible]2.

constitutions of many national unions provide [illegible] con-sent of the unions already existing in such locality must first be obtained. It has been found, however, [illegible] this law, the local unions already chartered in any place, often prevent the organization of other unions in every way [illegible] undesirable. The Cigar Makers' International Union [illegible] instances, therefore, vest all power to grant [illegible] Executive Board. But before [illegible] the application must be brought to [illegible] already existing in the locali-ty, and if any objections are raised, they must be carefully considered by the Board.[1] [illegible], then, as present indica-tions show [illegible] to remove all limitations [illegible] local, and to vest in the [illegible] power to organize the members in such places [illegible] according to the needs of [illegible].

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[1] Constitution of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America. Adopted [illegible]. [illegible] Sec. 170. (Chicago, n.d.).

CHAPTER 17

THE NEW POSITIVITY OF A DEATH PITCHER

During the latter half of the century, [illegible] have been formed in various parts of the [illegible], district, state, national [illegible], [illegible] districts, district or shire [illegible] associations [illegible]. Usually, however, [illegible] finally into a body [illegible] national union; [illegible], later, [illegible] associations have been formed [illegible] their [illegible].

[illegible] causes for the federation [illegible], [illegible] of workmen [illegible], [illegible] disturbance, in certain [illegible], [illegible] employers in different [illegible], [illegible] and from [illegible] local unions.

1.

[illegible] ility of Labor.

Possibly [illegible] chief cause for [illegible] formation of local [illegible] is [illegible] [illegible] flow of [illegible] [illegible] r. [illegible] is interlo- [illegible] , [illegible] birth of America [illegible] , [illegible] [illegible] rs [illegible] [illegible] Atlantic seaboard. [illegible] , [illegible] few years before [illegible] [illegible] , [illegible] t intraurban move [illegible] of [illegible] , [illegible] [illegible] too, like [illegible] [illegible] ir place. [illegible] r, [illegible] settling between [illegible] [illegible] similar circulation is [illegible] , [illegible] is also a current of [illegible] , [illegible] s a considerable [illegible][1] .

[illegible] cost of rail [illegible] [illegible] , [illegible] while. In nearly all [illegible] , [illegible] class of [illegible] craftsmen or [illegible] , [illegible] , [illegible] , [illegible] [illegible] s, [illegible]

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[1] The American [illegible] Working [illegible] , [illegible] J [illegible] W. Al [illegible] , p. 10[illegible]. [illegible] , [illegible].

l[illegible], [illegible] s, [illegible], [illegible], s[illegible] [illegible] direct. [illegible] is [illegible] labor is especially large in [illegible] trades, [illegible] the use of [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] of Italians [illegible] [illegible] ly [illegible] especially [illegible]. [illegible] body of laborers [illegible] in [illegible] in St. Louis. [illegible] New York Subway. [illegible] in [illegible]'s [illegible] distribution [illegible] ly, [illegible] Exposition or upon [illegible].

[illegible] current between cities, [illegible] small towns into the larger cities [illegible], [illegible] carpenters in large cities [illegible] periodic invasion [illegible] surrounding country [illegible] and, the [illegible] of New York [illegible] four [illegible] co[illegible] New York City, [illegible] ll, are in [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] es, the poor resident workers.

An industrial depression, [illegible] introduction of [illegible] in any craft [illegible] condition which increases the number of employed or decreases the skill required, serves to intensify in any trade its internal competition. [illegible] 0, [illegible]-

[illegible]

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1 The Carpenter, Vol. [illegible], No. 10. [illegible], October [illegible].

to New York with the result that the uniform scale was abolished and many could not even find employment.[1] "Take the case of the journeymen tailors", says a writer in 1847, "Suppose this class of operatives in Newark to strike for higher wages, will they succeed. No, the journeymen tailors will be at once tempted to flock from New York, and this influx will be in proportion to the demand, which will be in accordance to the amount of increasing population. Of course, it will be less than it would be in the case of skilled labor, such as that of the mechanics, factors in the factories, where the vacuum would be filled up almost immediately. The consequence of this transfer of labor is that wages rise elsewhere, and by degrees follows, [illegible] this, the proportion is much less in [illegible] the natural rise of level is correspondingly [illegible]".[2]

[illegible] of labor, the creation of a central [illegible] of the trades necessary both for the protection of the level and [illegible] of the traveling journeyman. On the [illegible], the [illegible] of workmen from one [illegible] (a) [illegible] is greatly [illegible] in its [illegible] of the conditions of employment; (b) its [illegible] in [illegible] the craft are

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1 Historical Sketch in the constitution of the New York Typographical Association of June 1831, as [illegible] in 1836.

2 The American Mechanic and Workingman, by James W. Alexander, p. 127. New York & Philadelphia, 1847.

[illegible] completely [illegible]llified; [illegible], (c) since [illegible] [illegible]ers can often readily find work in some near[illegible], its power to exact obedience from its [illegible]ers is seriously [illegible]ened. On [illegible], the traveling craftsman, [illegible] of [illegible] exclusion barriers set [illegible] finds [illegible] difficult to obtain [illegible] in[illegible],

[illegible] in [illegible] of in[illegible] in its efforts [illegible]tition of jour[illegible] in industrial war[illegible] their strike is lost [illegible] by advertisements [illegible] workers willin[illegible] printers of New York [illegible] 1908, advertising in [illegible], [illegible] to fill [illegible] York Typo[illegible]ical [illegible][1],

[illegible] influx of [illegible]-of-[illegible]rs, [illegible] l trade [illegible]. In [illegible] l, [illegible]

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[1] Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. [illegible]1, November 190[illegible], p. [illegible]. Washington, 190[illegible].

[illegible] in St. Louis [illegible] on strike. [illegible] il-
[illegible] of [illegible] for [illegible] its.
I [illegible] ince, [illegible] St. Louis [illegible]
[illegible] try [illegible]
[illegible] ist [illegible] s-
[illegible] . A [illegible] was
[illegible] rights
[illegible] national
union. [illegible] convention was
held [illegible] present federal organi-
zation, [illegible] Joiners of
America,[1] [illegible]

[illegible] point of view of the
[illegible] the scattered
local [illegible] r that he may be the
[illegible] place in which he
[illegible] llers between him-
self [illegible] ist is often [illegible] to
pay [illegible] ship in the
association [illegible] journeyed in search
for [illegible]. [illegible] ly, if [illegible] ion is strong, he may not
be able to [illegible] ll, [illegible], if it is weakly or-
ganized only by [illegible] ".cab", [illegible] probably accepting a much

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[1] The Carpenter, Vol. 1, No. 1, St. Louis, May 1881.

lower wage than [illegible] previously earned. In [illegible] address to journeymen printers issued in 1850, it is urged that "the formation of a national union of printers will relieve the distress of brother craftsmen, i.e. journeymen, from one place to another in search of work". "One reason", says a writer in the Iron Molders' International Journal "for the formation of national unions is to lessen every where in this country"[1]. The same idea is also expressed by the delegates who in 1[illegible] met in convention to form the Cigar Makers' International Union.

National unions have adopted several expedients, which while [illegible] the hardships of the "tramp" journeymen, [illegible], protect the local by partly removing the temptation to change [illegible] under its established scale of wages. One device, used probably by every national or international [illegible] in the United States, is the traveling card. This card is issued by a local union to those members who are [illegible] in search of work. It admits the bearer to the [illegible] of the trade within the jurisdiction of the union, but must be deposited with some local [illegible] within a period of time under penalty of a fine or suspension. The traveling card is [illegible] some ex[illegible]

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1 Iron Molders' International Journal, Vol. 7, No. 5. [illegible] 1[illegible]

1

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the international union from that time until the present [illegible]. The loan helps greatly to lessen the competition of unemployed peo[illegible] in any locality. It is praiseworthy, however, only in those organizations which have attained a high degree of administrative efficiency, and is [illegible] rarely popular.

[illegible] the effect of the movement of [illegible] the independent local unions [illegible] number of those learning the craft, [illegible], for example, enforce the [illegible] period of apprenticeship, and [illegible] shop. But if unions of the craft [illegible] have a very loose system, [illegible] Baltimore will serve as [illegible] constantly accumulating [illegible].

[illegible] of apprenticeship [illegible] the formation of local [illegible] series of uniform rules for local [illegible] of the national [illegible] in 1931 and 1937 made an effective [illegible] national union.[1] In the address [illegible] in 1941, one reason urged in favor of [illegible] is the possibility

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[1] Address to Local Societies by the Co[illegible] of the National Typographical Society in 1836. [illegible] or 1836.

of limiting apprentices, "by which measure, too rapid increase in the number of workmen, too little care in the selection of boys for the business, and the employment of hordes of half-men at half wages to the detriment of good workmen would be effectively prevented".[1] The national regulation of apprenticeship was from the first an important purpose of the Iron Molders'[2] and Cigar Makers'[3] union; and a law limiting the number of apprentices to each employer or firm of contractors was adopted by the International Union of Bricklayers, as early as 1867.

Finally, so long as the local societies of a trade are disunited, a man who is expelled or suspended for non-payment of dues, or for some other violation of law is able to escape much of his penalty by removing to another city. There, upon payment of an initiation fee, he will probably be admitted to the union of that locality, and so will be able to find em-

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[1] Address issued by the Convention of 1850 to the Journeymen Printers of the United States.

[2] Constitution adopted 1864, Article VIII (In Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Session of the Iron Molders' International Union, [illegible], January [illegible], 1864. Philadelphia, 1864). Also Constitution adopted 1867. (See Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Session of the Iron Molders' International Union, Boston, Mass., January 8, 1867. Philadelphia, 1867)

[3] Constitution for the Government of Local Unions, Article II, sec. 1. (In Proceedings of the Second Session of the Cigar Makers' National Union of the United States, Cleveland, O., September 5, 18[illegible].

[4] Constitution and Rules of Order of the International Union of Bricklayers. New York, 1867.

[illegible]l [illegible]. [illegible] threat of suspension in [illegible] cases loses so of its terror for the delinquent, [illegible] much of the coercive power of [illegible] union over its members is destroyed.

The effective punishment of outlawed members has been somewhat incidental to the rise of federal trade unions. Some years, however, before the rise of national union, the [illegible] of [illegible] list of "rights", as offenders [illegible] called, [illegible] by federal [illegible] individuals [illegible] leadership,[1] [illegible] printers of the United States [illegible] in favor of national [illegible] of adopting "measures to prevent [illegible] profession [illegible] anywhere [illegible] privileges which belong exclusively [illegible] iron workers, the bricklayers, [illegible] other crafts early established [illegible], exchanged by correspondence [illegible] black list of expelled members; [illegible] union, all subordinate branches [illegible] membership.

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1 See page 1

2 Address issued by the Convention of 1850 to the Journeymen Printers of the United States.

2

Territorial Widening of [illegible] Market.

A second important cause for the creation of district, [illegible], national, and international [illegible] has been the need of maintaining [illegible] wages and other conditions of [illegible] in [illegible] where competition exists between [illegible] of various parts of the country. Since [illegible] in the [illegible] of production, one employer [illegible] his competitors. [illegible] will naturally seek out every favorable [illegible], in order that, through his ability to sell cheaper, he may [illegible] his business.

[illegible] to raise wages, for [illegible] the general level of wages paid in [illegible] employers of its [illegible]. For illustration, take the case of [illegible] industry. Intense competition between [illegible] of various parts of the country [illegible] of certain popular high priced shoes, [illegible] the lowest possible wage in. At the same time, [illegible] respectively of its [illegible], [illegible] present protective tariff on hides, has been able to control the price of [illegible] leather. Moreover, cost of production are very much the same in all parts of the country. Besides [illegible]

[illegible]tion, the most important available item is, therefore, [illegible]s; [illegible] difference of [illegible] cents per piece in several or possibly even a single department, may [illegible] in or a prosperous trade.[1] The [illegible] of [illegible] offer, therefore, resists [illegible] local [illegible]ion to raise [illegible]s. If [illegible], [illegible] is forced to yield, [illegible] the [illegible] of sales, to [illegible] force.

[illegible] local union inevitably [illegible], [illegible] hard to prevent the [illegible] of [illegible] in other places. [illegible] in city cells to other [illegible] are origin[illegible] [illegible] pay the same [illegible] called, [illegible] tells them, to stay [illegible] If, however, [illegible] reduction, it will be [illegible] sell [illegible], [illegible], or [illegible] the [illegible] ers, and will se[illegible] [illegible], the deal [illegible], [illegible] will com[illegible] recover the lost

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1 The Union Bookmaker, Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 10. [illegible]ton, April 1900.

[illegible] overtime. The employees probably yield; [illegible] is competitors, [illegible] themselves losing trade, [illegible] in turn a reduction [illegible], and so [illegible] over [illegible]s.[1] "The increased [illegible] of miners' wages in [illegible] ice, in effect, [illegible] reduction in dis-[illegible]s,"[2] [illegible] of the miners of the corn [illegible] [illegible] reduction of [illegible] in [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible] ers, the low rate of wages paid [illegible] Virginia, a region [illegible] [illegible] or press the [illegible] coals, [illegible] coal fields, par-ic[illegible] [illegible] Florida.

[illegible], [illegible], does compe-tition [illegible] different localities. There is [illegible], for example, between the [illegible] personal service, and [illegible] employees, [illegible] dealers of [illegible] farmers, [illegible] and confec-tioners [illegible] articles for local consumption.

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1 For [illegible], see description of conditions in [illegible] iron and steel industry. National Labor Tribune, Vol. V, p. 2. Pittsburg, May 7, 1881.

2 National Labor Tribune, Pittsburg, No. 2, p. 3. Pittsburg, January 13, 1883.

3 United Mine Workers Journal, Vol. I, No. 9. Columbus, [illegible], 1892. Also Vol. III, No. 1. Columbus, April 14, 1898.

[illegible]

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1 Proceedings of the [illegible] Convention [illegible] United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steamfitters, and Steam Helpers of the United States and Canada, Milwaukee, Wis., September 29-October 3, 1947, p. 1-[illegible].

2 [illegible]

[illegible] competition between contractors in different [illegible] cities is, however, still very limited in [illegible]. Moreover, [illegible] the international unions of stonecutters, carpenters, painters, plasterers, [illegible] other building trades [illegible] associations.

In [illegible] states, wide territorial [illegible] in portion of [illegible], a condition in which [illegible] for one part of the [illegible], [illegible] variation is possible. [illegible] granite used on buildings [illegible] quarries, is shipped [illegible] ordered, and at once [illegible]. The wages paid at one quarry [illegible] those paid at another [illegible] shipments. Indeed, the essential [illegible] scale was from the beginning [illegible] Granite Cutters' National Union.[1] On the other [illegible], the [illegible] of granite is not in [illegible] based [illegible]. A [illegible]

The [illegible] scale is lower than that paid [illegible] in [illegible] cities, [illegible] local [illegible] work in such places. But this practice is vigorously opposed by the union.

[1] Granite Cutters' International Journal, Vol. 1, No. 11, p. 2. Rockland, February 1897.

[illegible] is [illegible] s, or [illegible] ts i[illegible]-
cinely more stone, [illegible] is comp llae [illegible] local
stone yard. [illegible] s of [illegible] runi[illegible] ers [illegible]
[illegible] or [illegible], [illegible] the [illegible] ie [illegible] the [illegible]-
ries [illegible] r [illegible] s. [illegible] lies, [illegible], dile stone
[illegible] 2.50, [illegible] orkin [illegible]
[illegible] $3.50.

[illegible] ble [illegible] er of the [illegible] ld-
in [illegible], [illegible] ed-orkin machinery
after [illegible], [illegible] ildings, such
as [illegible], [illegible] lls, and window frames, is
made in large [illegible] lls, [illegible] ll parts of the
country. [illegible] of the United Brotherhood
of Carpenters [illegible] s, [illegible] from
[illegible] less uniform regulation
of [illegible] s, [illegible] such questions
be left [illegible] or al iron work-
ers, [illegible] s, [illegible] ilar differentiation
exists [illegible] ill employees, and the
outside workers.

[illegible] in [illegible] ll [illegible] in [illegible] er [illegible] is
also, [illegible] of [illegible] coupling for a
lo l, [illegible] ch [illegible] ri [illegible] e.
While [illegible] paper publi [illegible] s [illegible] ir [illegible] resses
[illegible] in adjoinin towns [illegible] ins of [illegible] strike, no co [illegible] i [illegible]

exists between newspaper publishers in different cities. [illegible] es, received by printers in [illegible] office, [illegible] form, [illegible] printers in [illegible] ing. [illegible] job publishers [illegible] in accordance to [illegible] or part of [illegible] local [illegible] employed [illegible] territorial [illegible].

[illegible] working day, [illegible] in the contract [illegible] union, [illegible] are best [illegible] by federation of local unions. [illegible] screen system, [illegible] scrupulous [illegible] conspicuous employers [illegible] practices; the [illegible] efforts of all international [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible] 1883, one of [illegible] first [illegible] screen system. [illegible] screen system [illegible] effective [illegible]

the various state unions.[1]

[illegible] ing in wages, hours, [illegible] directly or indirectly [illegible] primary cause for the [illegible] In the address to [illegible] issued by the preliminary [illegible] in 1850, [illegible] proposed national union will be, [illegible] formation of local s of places [illegible] in one place [illegible] to [illegible]". [illegible], in 1874, the winner [illegible] first national convention, [illegible] in scale for all [illegible] the chief reason for creating a national union. [illegible] of a [illegible] of wages [illegible] primary [illegible] to [illegible] National

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1 The National Labor Tribune, No. 4 , p. 5. [illegible] 1, 1873.

2 National Labor Tribune, Vol. 11, No. 20, p. 1. [illegible], [illegible], 1874.

[illegible] Miners' Union,[1] [illegible] Lan Miners' Protective Association,[2] [illegible] International [illegible] Miners' Union. [illegible] 1880, [illegible] anthracite coal [illegible] of Pennsylvania [illegible] various [illegible] associations [illegible] all coal fields [illegible] our [illegible]. [illegible] at all collieries [illegible] which coal [illegible] early [illegible] intolerable conditions [illegible] mines.[4] The establishment [illegible] system [illegible] of other [illegible] for calling the [illegible] strike in [illegible] 1880.[5] Finally, [illegible], while national organization [illegible] was well [illegible] from the first joint conference [illegible], which in 1886 drew up [illegible] bituminous coal fields of the [illegible], Maryland, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania,

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1 The Miner, Vol. 113, [illegible], p. 1. [illegible], Mass., October 1, 1880.

2 The Miner, Vol. 1, No. 1, [illegible], p. 1., [illegible] 1888.

3 First Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Agriculture of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1[illegible]-3. Harrisburg, 1874.

4 The National Labor Tribune, 8th year. Pittsburgh, [illegible], 1880, p.

5 National Labor Tribune, 11th year, No. 50. [illegible], 1883, p. 8.

West Virginia, [illegible] Union of Iowa.[1]

Frequently, an independent trade union is [illegible] formed in an industry before competition has arisen for its employers in every part of the country. In such a case, the existence of the union [illegible] only later becomes a [illegible] for the organization. When miners' provincial [illegible] formed in 1873, the miners in the [illegible] of the United States [illegible] the [illegible] district [illegible]. The sole purpose of the [illegible] was [illegible] its existence, [illegible], the [illegible] of a central strike fund, [illegible] of miners [illegible] Mine-Owners [illegible] formed in 1886, the market for coal [illegible] was [illegible] national in scope; [illegible], as has already been pointed out, [illegible] union of miners [illegible] miners [illegible] competitors between miners of [illegible]. When the miners' provincial union was formed, the miners still [illegible] in small shops for local consumption; [illegible] of a [illegible] union of a [illegible], [illegible] protected as an object of [illegible] in [illegible].

When [illegible] existence of competition between

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[1] See p. [illegible]

employers [illegible] primary cause for [illegible] creation of a feder-al trade union, [illegible] uniform [illegible] scale [illegible] possibility, [illegible] only after [illegible] years of effort. The establish-ment of [illegible] scale of [illegible] was [illegible] formation of a [illegible] in 18[illegible], [illegible] the Iron Mold-ers' Union [illegible][1] [illegible], [illegible] conditions [illegible] necessa-ry [illegible] first national [illegible] ers' National D[illegible] conditions of [illegible] case of every [illegible] rs, such [illegible] On [illegible] as [illegible] A [illegible] Iron, [illegible] parts of [illegible]

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[1] Proc[illegible]ings o[illegible] the [illegible] Annual Session of the Iron Molders' International Union, Toronto, Canada, July 1[illegible].

Working men [illegible] some [illegible] amount of [illegible] commodity [illegible] open [illegible], [illegible] price, [illegible] will [illegible] in [illegible] from [illegible]. [illegible] it is ob- [illegible] can [illegible]. In only [illegible] it [illegible] as [illegible] national associations.

[illegible] the several [illegible] anthracite coal miners of Pennsylvania [illegible]. [illegible] vicissitudes. Periods [illegible] tion, and over production [illegible]. In the Report [illegible] for 1873, [illegible] described [illegible] lack in [illegible]. "All [illegible] necessary [illegible]," [illegible], "was [illegible] in, [illegible]. At [illegible] would [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]ose, [illegible] several county associations [illegible] 1[illegible]8[illegible], in [illegible] General Council of [illegible] Women's [illegible] Association of [illegible] Anthracite Coal Fields of Pennsylvania. [illegible] in [illegible] for five [illegible]s; [illegible] association, [illegible] limits to [illegible].

[illegible] also unquestionably [illegible] associations [illegible] 1930, [illegible] rawas [illegible] days of Ohio [illegible] reduction of output [illegible], because of its [illegible], [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] of all limitations [illegible], "[illegible] in Iowa and Illinois [illegible] are, [illegible] in Pennsylvania no Ohio; [illegible] misstep of [illegible] coal [illegible]".[1]

[illegible], [illegible] Coal Company at Pittsburgh [illegible] 3 1/2¢ to 3¢ [illegible],

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[1] National Labor Tribune, [illegible], Pittsburgh, Oct. [illegible], 1930, p. 2.

[illegible] ecretary of [illegible] Coal Miners' Beneficial [illegible] Association of Western Pennsylvania wrote as follows:

"If [illegible] coal [illegible] is [illegible] and will [illegible] 3 1/2¢, [illegible] three [illegible]s, [illegible]? [illegible]. [illegible] for the Pitts- [illegible]. [illegible] proposition [illegible] declined all over [illegible] the [illegible]r, [illegible] the throat and [illegible]", [illegible], the secretary of [illegible] Pennsylvania, sent to each [illegible] advisability of [illegible] March 1[illegible], 1[illegible]0, he called [illegible] convention at Pi[illegible], [illegible] of [illegible] of cer- tain [illegible] comply [illegible].

T[illegible] of [illegible] 1 [illegible] of [illegible] p[illegible] of [illegible]

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1 National Labor Tribune, [illegible]. Pi[illegible], [illegible] 1, 1[illegible]0.

Glass Workers in 1874.[1] Indeed, both the window glass work-
ers, and the flint glass workers ordered a suspension of work
in 11 factories during a portion of the summer months, part-
ly [illegible] necessary repairs [illegible] ing [illegible]
[illegible], [illegible] largely in the hope of securing steadier em-
ployment and higher wages [illegible] [illegible] months.[2]

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1 National Labor Tribune, Vol. 11, No. 10, p. 1. Pittsburgh, May 23, 1874.

2 National Labor Tribune, 14th year, No. 3, p. 1, January 14, 1888.

3.

The [illegible] of a Joint [illegible].

A [illegible] reason for [illegible] organization of association, [illegible], [illegible], or international unions [illegible] to pay strike, sick, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] fits.

[illegible] are [illegible] to support [illegible] in a strike. The [illegible] be found strong enough [illegible] local union in its [illegible], [illegible] and if the financial [illegible], [illegible] of success [illegible] amps $1500 [illegible] $1500 to every [illegible], [illegible] dippers can be [illegible]. More work-[illegible] "[illegible]" [illegible] in [illegible],

[illegible] is [illegible] the [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible] establishment of a central [illegible] and is [illegible] of [illegible] strikes, [illegible] all other [illegible] collective [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible] scale.

[illegible] distribute [illegible] from [illegible] strike [illegible] type of crafts [illegible]

[illegible] rket is [illegible] small. [illegible] all part of [illegible] of the tr[illegible] conflicts [illegible] international [illegible] trades, [illegible] associations [illegible] share of [illegible] in [illegible] affiliation. [illegible] Seamen's International Union [illegible]

[illegible] give financial help to local unions involved in difficulties with employers, [illegible] single strike received the financial support of the International Union from 1871, until 1[illegible]. From 1870 to 1880, [illegible] strike was [illegible] supported [illegible] local [illegible] frequently occurred, [illegible] in the nineties, [illegible] single strike benefit was paid.[1] [illegible] 1897, [illegible] officially made a law [illegible] locally involved all members [illegible] supported from the [illegible] individual firm or the [illegible] maintained by the local.[2] [illegible] have existed among the plumbers.[3] [illegible] established by the first national [illegible] in 1880, no adequate provision [illegible] of local strikes until 189[illegible].

[illegible] employers' associations in [illegible] trades have been

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[1] A[illegible] Bricklayers' [illegible]s' I[illegible] Union, 1870-1900.

[2] Co[illegible] Order of the Bricklayers' [illegible] Masons' International Union of America. Revised, 1897. [illegible] 1897.

[3] Plumbers', Gas Fitters', and Steam Fitters' Journal, Vol. [illegible], No. 10, p. 3, and No. 11, pp. 5-7.

[illegible] to co[illegible] [illegible] ised [illegible] lo[illegible]ers, [illegible] be [illegible]ted in detail, [illegible] ology of [illegible] ers, [illegible] in [illegible] position. Strikes in [illegible] building trades [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], all [illegible] in [illegible] lo-cality [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] temporary i-[illegible] [illegible] C[illegible]ion of Jo[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] societies of [illegible] involved in [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible] had so li-[illegible] [illegible] 1865, [illegible] I[illegible]tional T[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] all [illegible] did, [illegible] be [illegible] large unions, [illegible] all [illegible] lon. [illegible], [illegible] associations of [illegible] of financial as-sist[illegible] [illegible] tion [illegible],

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible] in [illegible] financial [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] foundation of international associations. [illegible] strike [illegible] selling [illegible]

[illegible] of [illegible] glass workers in 1[illegible]74.[1] [illegible] was [illegible] convened by the provisional committee [illegible] the formation of a national union, [illegible] St. [illegible] local [illegible] 1[illegible]1.[2] At [illegible] first national [illegible] Iron Molders' [illegible] in 1[illegible], [illegible] local [illegible] recommended to [illegible] assistance to offer".[3] The con[illegible] the Albany local [illegible]. A few [illegible] [illegible]ication was [illegible].[4] Even [illegible] National Union, [illegible] voluntary [illegible]. [illegible] provision for [illegible] first or second [illegible]rs. After the second

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[1] [illegible], 11, No. 20. Pittsburgh, [illegible]

[2] [illegible] Provisional Committee, Vol. 1, [illegible] 1.

[3] [illegible] 3, [illegible] (In Proceedings of the First [illegible] Iron Molders' National Union, Philadelphia, July [illegible], 18[illegible]. Philadelphia, 18[illegible]).

[4] [illegible]ion, adopted 1[illegible]3. (In Proceedings of the [illegible] Annual Convention of the Iron Molders' International Union, Pittsburgh, Pa., January [illegible]-9, 1[illegible]3. Philadelphia, 1[illegible]3.)

[illegible] ever, [illegible] of my low [illegible] of [illegible] seriously felt. A consultation took place between [illegible] national secretary, [illegible] officers [illegible] while [illegible] [illegible][1]

[illegible] -of-work [illegible] local [illegible] of [illegible] rest of work. [illegible] like the non-[illegible] usually [illegible] enjoy it. [illegible] or more are [illegible] of [illegible] difficulties [illegible] activities [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible]

[illegible]

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1 [illegible] President (I. Proceedings [illegible] Annual Session [illegible] Civilians' National Federation of [illegible] States. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible])

[illegible] ion of [illegible] trict, [illegible] te, or [illegible] tional [illegible] ions. In [illegible], [illegible] exception of certain railway [illegible], [illegible] by national [illegible] ions adopted systems of [illegible] relief [illegible] in [illegible] tion. [illegible] organized in 1[illegible], [illegible] until [illegible] 187[illegible].[1]

[illegible] organized in 1[illegible]. In [illegible], [illegible] relief of [illegible] failure, [illegible] until 1[illegible]80 [illegible] the [illegible].

[illegible], however, [illegible] railway unions, because [illegible] employees by the [illegible]; [illegible] system of [illegible] ser-vice, [illegible] national organization, [illegible] of Railway Conductors [illegible] insurance association.

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[1] Co[illegible] Cigar Makers' Union of North America, [illegible] 1879. C[illegible], 1[illegible].

[2] J[illegible] Progress of [illegible] Cigar Makers' International [illegible]. Milwaukee, September [illegible], 1[illegible], p. 53. [illegible], (n.d.)

[illegible] its first convention in 1878. From 1877 to 1890, activities of the order came exclusively [illegible] vol[illegible]t. Collective bargaining was carried on during this period [illegible] the International Brotherhood of Railway Firemen. In 1890, the Order [illegible] a part of its [illegible] to the [illegible] of its members. [illegible] International Brotherhood [illegible] Railway Firemen in [illegible] numbers [illegible] was dissolved.[1] The Order of Railway Firemen [illegible] in 1886, as [illegible] such [illegible] make it also an [illegible] Railroad,

[illegible], the Brotherhood of Locomotive [illegible] for widows and orphans, [illegible] until 1886, three years [illegible] union.[3] Moreover, [illegible] Railway Firemen [illegible] Firemen's Union, [illegible] during [illegible] labor [illegible] of [illegible] insurance;

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1 Stuart [illegible] American [illegible], [illegible] Burnett, p. 3[illegible].

2 The American Federationist, Vol. IX, No. 9, p. 271. [illegible] ion, September 1902.

3 George W. [illegible]: The Labor Movement, p. 3[illegible]1.

[illegible] le[illegible]rs [illegible] [illegible]le[illegible] [illegible]ciation [illegible] r[illegible] [illegible]osed [illegible] i[illegible], [illegible] r[illegible] Br[illegible]er[illegible]oo[illegible] of Locomotive Fir[illegible] [illegible] i[illegible] [illegible] l[illegible] [illegible] well as i[illegible] [illegible]trial [illegible]ions [illegible] [illegible] i[illegible] 1874. [illegible] I[illegible]ional Fir[illegible]'s [illegible] [illegible]idl[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]o [illegible]ces; [illegible] in 1[illegible], [illegible] ll [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] still co[illegible]osi[illegible] i[illegible],[1] [illegible] i[illegible] [illegible]ly[illegible] i[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]ed.

[illegible] [illegible] i[illegible] [illegible] occu[illegible]ation [illegible] l[illegible] [illegible] i[illegible] iff[illegible] [illegible] places [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ll [illegible] r-local trad[illegible] associ[illegible]tions. I[illegible] [illegible] i[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]icts [illegible]tween employ[illegible]rs i[illegible] iff[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]ce[illegible] [illegible]iform [illegible]itions [illegible] [illegible] r[illegible] l[illegible] ter [illegible] [illegible] i[illegible]port[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] l[illegible] [illegible]tion. [illegible]over, [illegible]ost [illegible] i[illegible] l[illegible] [illegible] f[illegible] [illegible] fro[illegible] [illegible] in i[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] l[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] unions o[illegible] [illegible]. A[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] li[illegible] in[illegible]tries, however, [illegible]rs [illegible] [illegible]ss [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ll, o[illegible]ly [illegible] ll [illegible]petition [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] l [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]ally involved i[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] local union is, [illegible], l[illegible] [illegible] in it [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]cial [illegible] i[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] r[illegible]tly [illegible].

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[1] The [illegible] is or [illegible] [illegible] le between [illegible] [illegible] int[illegible]r[illegible]i[illegible]l associations of locomotive [illegible]en [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]ll [illegible] in [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Locomotive Fir[illegible] [illegible]azine, Vol. 1, [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] - [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] Vol. 11, Terr[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] - [illegible] r [illegible].

V

THE TRUTH OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

O[illegible] Trade [illegible].

[illegible] 1792, [illegible] S[illegible] also [illegible] [illegible] Baltimore, Phil- [illegible][1]

[illegible]

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[1] Trial [illegible] Phil[illegible] I- [illegible] Wages. [illegible] Thomas Lloyd. Phila- [illegible], 1[illegible].

[illegible] evils [illegible] of [illegible] of which [illegible] I 1210, [illegible]

[illegible]

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1 [illegible] L[illegible], [illegible]. 1, [illegible] r, 1[illegible]. [illegible] 1033. ([illegible], 1903).

[illegible] interval from 1818 [illegible], correspond[illegible] [1] [illegible] local associations of painters [illegible] ically ce[illegible].

In 1836, [illegible]

[illegible] Phil[illegible] [illegible] part of [illegible], however, [illegible] proposition [illegible],

[illegible] local [illegible] of [illegible] painters in [illegible] strick against [illegible] "[illegible]rs" [illegible] Phila[illegible] li[illegible] ization of the [illegible] in [illegible] of [illegible] "[illegible]s", [illegible] all associations [illegible] Columbian Typo[illegible] [illegible] proposals [illegible] painters' associations. [illegible] observ[illegible],

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[1] [illegible] relief.

[illegible] loc[illegible] [illegible]. A[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] sociatie[illegible] [illegible] "[illegible] [illegible]s". [illegible]; [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] issued in 1[illegible]. [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible], however, [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] material [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] 1[illegible], [illegible] 1[illegible], [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] of the Federal Trade [illegible]

[1]

[illegible] District [illegible].

[illegible] tion, [illegible] l [illegible] i[illegible] tion. In [illegible] l associations have [illegible], in 1934, [illegible] rs' [illegible] - [illegible] bbies, [illegible] line [illegible], All [illegible], [illegible] l, prof [illegible] [illegible] ent orm [illegible] - [illegible] l of [illegible]es, [illegible] ion [illegible] [illegible] pre- [illegible] for [illegible] be associ [illegible] [illegible] Federal [illegible]

---

[1] J[illegible] Program of T[illegible] S[illegible] of [illegible] Int[illegible] Union of America, [illegible], Sep[illegible] - [illegible], 1933. (Chicago, n.d.).

[illegible] New York. [illegible], [illegible] I [illegible]

[illegible] ired [illegible] 18, [illegible] Control Union [illegible] to [illegible]

[illegible] ilia [illegible] ic [illegible] fo [illegible] id. [illegible]

[illegible], [illegible] fora, [illegible] d, [illegible] it's [illegible] -

[illegible] ent [illegible] [illegible] I-

[illegible]

[illegible] ic [illegible] ic [illegible]

[illegible] fer [illegible]

[illegible] . [illegible]

[illegible] -

[illegible] A [illegible] -

[illegible] Mal [illegible],

[illegible]

[illegible] ly conc [illegible] -

[illegible] fl r li it [illegible]

[illegible] , in [illegible] ,

[illegible] e, [illegible] c -

[illegible] e New Mx-

[illegible] r, [illegible]

[illegible] ic-

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1 [illegible] Wl. 1, [illegible] 1, [illegible], [illegible], Cl [illegible] c, [illegible] c, [illegible] r, 1[illegible]0.

2 [illegible] Coordi [illegible] d G [illegible] r l [illegible] L [illegible] E [illegible] l [illegible] -tective Action [illegible] of [illegible] United [illegible] O [illegible] tive [illegible] l- S [illegible] r [illegible] Wa [illegible] c. [illegible] l [illegible] d [illegible] . [illegible] l [illegible] r, [illegible] .

3 [illegible] L [illegible] r, Vol. 1, No. 1, [illegible] . 1. [illegible] , [illegible] , [illegible] .

[illegible]

[illegible] The Eas[illegible], [illegible] Sec. 3, [illegible] 1. L[illegible], O[illegible], 1[illegible]0.

[illegible] in New England. [illegible] influx of [illegible] however, [illegible] ts. [illegible] ers of [illegible] ure, [illegible] t, [illegible] llied. [illegible] fore, [illegible] of Labor op- [illegible] States [illegible] of 1827, [illegible] New York [illegible] in scope; [illegible] Cutters' [illegible] material [illegible] States [illegible]

1

[illegible] Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 3, [illegible]

[illegible] Great Lakes were formed, in 1878, [illegible] L[illegible] S[illegible]-
[illegible]'s Union. The Sailors' Union of the Pacific Coast [illegible]
[illegible] Pacific Coast [illegible] the U[illegible]
[illegible]. [illegible] 1[illegible] Sea[illegible] the U[illegible]
[illegible],

[illegible] Class Sailors'
[illegible] le-
[illegible][1] The E[illegible]
[illegible] L-
[illegible] District As[illegible]-
[illegible], [illegible] lower occ[illegible]-
[illegible] r-
[illegible] ficts, in
1878, [illegible] Class Sai-
[illegible] C[illegible] L,
[illegible]

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[1] T[illegible] S[illegible] of L[illegible] O, [illegible] J. C. Si[illegible] [illegible] T. McE[illegible]is,
[illegible]. [illegible]-[illegible]. C[illegible] O, [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible] product of Eastern O[illegible] West Virginia, situated on the Ohio River [illegible] Cincinnati [illegible]. [illegible] valleys [illegible] Ohio, [illegible] Pennsylvania, [illegible] Lakes. [illegible] 17[illegible]7 [illegible] O, [illegible] U[illegible] [illegible] ities, [illegible] early [illegible]

[illegible] in [illegible] districts, [illegible] in [illegible] fi[illegible] ill, [illegible].[1]

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[1] [illegible] stole slaves [illegible] Americans [illegible] soldiers, [illegible]

[illegible]

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1 [illegible]

[illegible]

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[1] [illegible] W. [illegible]: [illegible], [illegible]. [illegible].

1

1

[illegible] . [illegible] is [illegible] in, [illegible] [illegible] .

I [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] ison i [illegible] , [illegible] . As [illegible] [illegible] its [illegible] , [illegible] . A [illegible] were held [illegible] , [illegible] Cleveland. [illegible] , [illegible] , [illegible] in [illegible] , [illegible] .

[illegible] in [illegible] , [illegible] , [illegible]

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[1] [illegible] , [illegible] .

[2] [illegible] First [illegible] , [illegible] .

[illegible]

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1 [illegible] 1, 1 0.

2 I[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], 1 0.

3 I[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], March 20, 1 0.

4 I[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], July [illegible], 1 0.

of [illegible] Pittsburg [illegible] to [illegible], [illegible] fell [illegible][1]. I[illegible] 1[illegible]3, [illegible] first [illegible] conven[illegible] [illegible]. D[illegible] f[illegible] Maryland, Ohio, Illinois, [illegible] P[illegible]nia; [illegible] A[illegible] States [illegible]; [illegible] consist of [illegible] [illegible]tions. This [illegible] [illegible]; [illegible] [illegible] consideration [illegible]. T[illegible] Amalgamated Ass[illegible] [illegible] vital exist[illegible]nce. [illegible] board of state [illegible] convention [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] lodges of [illegible] [illegible][4] [illegible] later in Io[illegible], [illegible] District Ass[illegible]-

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[1] [illegible] J[illegible] 1, 1[illegible]0.

[2] I[illegible], [illegible] 1[illegible]3.

[3] I[illegible], [illegible] A[illegible] 1, 1[illegible].

G[illegible]: Th[illegible] L[illegible] Mov[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] L[illegible] Tribune, 13[illegible] year, No. [illegible], [illegible] 3, J[illegible] 1[illegible], 1[illegible]5.

[illegible] Order. [illegible] Assembly No. 1[illegible], K. of L. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] National Federation of [illegible] [illegible]. The miners' [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the State [illegible] [illegible] Pennsylvania, [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] transportation facilities [illegible] local or sectional [illegible] coal fields of [illegible] [illegible]. Part [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] Central Pennsylvania [illegible], Part [illegible] to [illegible] eastern Ohio, [illegible] [illegible]. Part [illegible] rivers, [illegible] Ohio, Iowa, [illegible] Territory, [illegible] [illegible]. "Circumst[illegible] at the time of the formation of the Miners' National Association", wrote the Secretary of the Coal Miners' Beneficial

[illegible] ive A. [illegible] lv [illegible], "[illegible] ([illegible] era ion [illegible] -[illegible]) [illegible] ; [illegible] ic [illegible] ent territori[illegible] [illegible] l [illegible] i [illegible] titles of th[illegible] [illegible] l [illegible] ac[illegible] r-[illegible] ime [illegible] i-[illegible] -[illegible]".

[illegible] associa[illegible] [illegible] r[illegible]ate [illegible] ic[illegible] [illegible] St[illegible] i-[illegible]", [illegible] i[illegible]tion [illegible] lic[illegible] i [illegible] ic[illegible] ---------- I [illegible] rs' [illegible] li[illegible]".

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[1] [illegible], [illegible] 13, 1[illegible]3.

I [illegible] y co l r i s, [illegible] i [illegible]
[illegible] l o [illegible] t [illegible], [illegible] rs, l [illegible] ix [illegible] t to [illegible]
i [illegible] f [illegible] o [illegible] s [illegible] s; [illegible]
[illegible] l [illegible] i [illegible] o [illegible]
[illegible] I [illegible] l [illegible] o [illegible]
[illegible] l [illegible] l [illegible]
[illegible] r, [illegible]
[illegible] - [illegible] I [illegible] r -
[illegible] i [illegible] f [illegible] l,
[illegible] O i c, Illi i s,
[illegible] r r o r,
[illegible] r i n O i c c,
[illegible] s, P -
[illegible] i, [illegible] I [illegible] r o [illegible]
[illegible] r e n t d
[illegible] T h e c o n l -
[illegible] o n; [illegible], i
[illegible] r s, [illegible] l l
[illegible] i g s
[illegible] l o c -
s e c [illegible] l, [illegible] e, [illegible] O l [illegible] s, P [illegible] -
[illegible] l l [illegible] r l c l i [illegible]
[illegible] c. O l [illegible] i [illegible]

[illegible] states [illegible] Illinois, Illi-
nois, Ohio, [illegible], West Virginia, [illegible]
of [illegible][1] [illegible] covered [illegible]. [illegible] of Mary-
land [illegible]; [illegible]
[illegible] for
[illegible]
[illegible] information
[illegible] Illinois
[illegible]. As
[illegible] in the southern
part of Illinois, [illegible] in [illegible]
[illegible] joint conference;
[illegible]
[illegible] conference, [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Illinois
[illegible] operators [illegible]

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[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

following year; [illegible] interstate joint conference [illegible].

The discontinuance of the joint conference [illegible] without the dissolution of the national union. On the other hand, a national federation of miners has continuously existed under various names from 1885 to the present day. In 1891, [illegible] the National Federation of Labor [illegible] formed into National Trade Assembly, No. 135, K. of L.; and for several years the local [illegible] between the two rival [illegible] organizations. [illegible], seceded and amalgamated with National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers to form the [illegible] Miners' National Progressive Union. The [illegible], [illegible] between trade unionists [illegible], patched up. The [illegible] National Trade Assembly joined [illegible], the [illegible].

[illegible] association of miners [illegible] conference [illegible] as seen, [illegible] only possible [illegible] United

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1

[illegible] D. Lloyd: [illegible]. Also Professor Ely: [illegible].

[illegible]

1 [illegible]

[illegible]

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1 [illegible]

should [illegible] have some voice in determining what shall constitute the base.[1] It has been at various times proposed to establish a similar interstate [illegible] conference for the states south of [illegible], and [illegible] west of the Mississippi;[2] and since 19[illegible], [illegible] has been maintained [illegible] fields of [illegible], [illegible] Indian Territory, and Texas.[3] [illegible], however, continually [illegible] of operators [illegible] joint conference; but [illegible] in the near future.

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[1] [illegible] in considering [illegible], particularly at the interstate conferences of [illegible], 1901, and [illegible].

[2] Proceedings of [illegible] Annual Joint Conference of Coal Miners and Operators of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Held in Columbus, O., January 31-February 9, 1901, p. 49. (Chicago, n.d.).

[3] Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, held in the city of Indianapolis, Ind., January 18-27, 1904, inclusive, p. 27. Indianapolis, 1904.

[illegible]

[illegible]

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1 [illegible] influx [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible] Journal, Vol. IX, [illegible], 1879.

2 [illegible] Bulletin [illegible], October 1, 1[illegible] (3).

3 [illegible] Bulletin of [illegible], [illegible], 1[illegible].

4 [illegible] Journal, Vol. 1, No. [illegible], p. [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], 1[illegible].

[illegible]

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1 [illegible] ([illegible] 2, 1[illegible]7. [illegible] 1-[illegible], 1[illegible]7).

2 [illegible] 1, Vol. XIII, No. [illegible], p. 183, [illegible], April 1[illegible].

As a result of [illegible] customers o[illegible] -
[illegible] officers, [illegible] Herald [illegible] section of [illegible] U[illegible]
[illegible] of A[illegible] [illegible] 1980, [illegible] of
[illegible] -
[illegible] 4 [illegible] -
[illegible] Ten-
[illegible] of the
[illegible] d-
[illegible] -
[illegible] 3,000,000
[illegible] 1,400,000 [illegible]
3,500,000 [illegible] -
[illegible] in 1980, [illegible]
[illegible] ition [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Kansas [illegible]
[illegible] Color do[illegible] -

[illegible]

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1 [illegible] P. H. P [illegible] (U [illegible] Col [illegible], A [illegible] 13,)

[illegible] (U [illegible] Col [illegible], A [illegible] 13, [illegible])

[illegible] Col [illegible], O., A [illegible] 10-1[illegible], 1[illegible]. (U [illegible] 1, Vol. 17, [illegible] 2, C [illegible], O., A [illegible] 19, 1 [illegible].).

[illegible]

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[1] [illegible] Vol. [illegible], No. 4-10. Oct[illegible], Mar[illegible], 1[illegible].

1

[illegible]

[illegible] Mass. Stat. [illegible] Acts, [illegible] Journal, 1901. Also [illegible] Proceedings, [illegible], 1901. (MS).

1 [illegible] Vol. XI, No. 3, [illegible], 1911.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

---

1 [illegible] Stock Owners' Association of [illegible], [illegible], 1[illegible].

[illegible] [1]

[illegible]

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[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

[illegible] 1300, [illegible]

[illegible] 11,000.

[illegible] 1100,

[illegible] 1304. [illegible]

---

1 [illegible] 1303, [illegible] 1304.

2 [illegible] 1303, [illegible] 1304.

[illegible]

[illegible] two [illegible]

[illegible]

---

1 [illegible] A[illegible] F[illegible], V[illegible] 10, [illegible] 10, [illegible] 1074, [illegible] 0[illegible] 1907.

[illegible]

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1 [illegible] 1, [illegible], A [illegible], 1100, [illegible] 00.

[illegible]

1

[illegible] Vol. [illegible], No. [illegible], [illegible], J ly 1903.

2

[illegible] 1903. [illegible] 1903. [illegible] Vol. 11, No. 43, p. 81, Syracuse, J ly, 1903.

3

[illegible] bill reads as follows:

"The Criminal Code, 1892, is hereby [illegible] by adding

stan ially the s ne relation o it as [illegible] e St te Federa-
[illegible] , Ib [illegible] ation
[illegible]

[illegible]

1

1

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Thor [illegible] is dissertation was born in [illegible] l [illegible] ore, [illegible] 17, 1881. [illegible] elementary cour- [illegible] received in the public sc[illegible]ls of [illegible] l- [illegible]ore, [illegible] [illegible] Johns Hop- [illegible] [illegible] in 1901, [illegible] [illegible] the de[illegible]r of [illegible]chelor of [illegible]ts by [illegible] in 1903.